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THE FIRST (OR MONARCHIAN) CONFLICT ON THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST.

BY PROFESSOR J. A. FAULKNER, D.D., DREW THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

The fact that in Christ believers had a divine Savior and Lord rested in the general consciousness of the early church, but how to relate Him to the supreme and only God, to God the Father was not thought through. Was He from eternity a part of the essence of God? If so, in what sense? Was He a cosmical spirit who in eternity came out from the being of God? Was He the Logos, or Word, or hypostatic so-called "personal" principle of expression, of creation and redemption, of communication, of light, of truth, of love, etc.? Or was He God Mimself in another mode, the eternal Father in human form in redemptional manifestation? Was He a heavenly created being who was incarnated and endowed by God for His work? Or finally, was He a man simply, whether born miraculously or not,[1] who received a wonderful endowment from God, either at His birth or at His baptism, and after His death lifted up to the divine glory? The reader will notice that the thought behind all these questions is that of a mysterious actual divinity, in the case of some a substantial identity with God, of others the

(1) The miraculous birth of Jesus was apparently believed by all except a small part of the Ebionites.

supreme God Himself, and of others a moral elevation to God or interpretation with God. In all cases a kind of divinity is preserved. The modern notion of Christ as only a finely endowed spiritual teacher of beautiful and lofty character, a kind of better Wesley, a notion which springs from the modern prejudice to the supernatural, did not exist in the old church.

Because it represents the liberal school, and will not be accused of saying too much, I reproduce here von Schubert's introduction to Monarchianism in his edition of Möller (KG 1902, 268f). The problem of Christianity, he says, is the mysterious Person of its Founder. That there was given in Him the perfect revelation of God, and that one must think of Him as one thinks of God (ὡσ περὶ θεοῦ , *Anc. Hom.*—2 Clem.l., compare Pliny's *quasi deo*) was the common Christian conviction, but representations concerning His being and His relation to God and man, on which it was not felt necessary to reflect, were long wavering. Some expressions set God and Christ in one (Ignatius), without meaning to deny the real humanity of Jesus; others confessed that in Him a higher pre-existent heavenly being is coming in the flesh (2 Clem.-*Anc. Hom.*, cf. Paul), without meaning to teach ditheism, and still others see in Him a man in whom God through His holy Christ-Spirit has taken His dwelling (Hermas), without meaning to go against His worship as divine. In the absence of fixed definitions, some of these representations easily go over into others. First the heretical, then the churchly, speculation brought the question to the front, compelled the formulation of different solutions, and brought them out in opposition.

The second of the above conceptions (von Schubert goes on), that of a pre-existent divine being, received through the rising philosophic Logos idea its form and achieved its victory first among the theologians. The apologists, the antignostic theologians and the Alexandrians shared in different degrees the idea of a divine self-unfolding in which the Logos is thought of as a second potency or hypostasis ("person") gone out from God and subordinated to Him. This Christology offered itself to the church for its acceptance as the first common dogmatic

achievement. But it met the liveliest opposition and the most earnest suspicions. The feeling moved many "simple ones, who are the largest part of the believers" that in that doctrine new philosophical conceptions strange to simple faith had usurped a place. They feared an endangering of Christian monotheism by this "economy" (οἰχονομία) of God, as they called it, while the Rule of Faith, which they all held, led away from the heathen many-gods to the one and true God. "We hold a monarchy (*one* only supreme divine Being), they say" (Ter. *Prax.* 3). By this opposition other naive attempts at the solution of the Christological problem were formulated. Some of these sought to get around the danger of ditheism by lessening the deity in Christ, others by lessening His humanity. Both may be designated as Monarchianism, though originally the name was used only of the second.

It is a favorite contention of so called liberal scholars that the belief in the divinity of Christ, based on the Trinitarian conception of God, arose from borrowing Jewish theophanies or God-manifestations and philosophical ideas of the Greeks, clothing them with a Christian dress, and that the spring of the Monarchian movement was in part a reaction against such high-flown notions in favor of a simpler faith. Thus Harnack in his elaborate article on Monarchianism (33pp) in the third edition of the Herzog *Realencyklopädie* (edited by Hauck), XIII (1903), 305-6, says that the above high belief in the divinity of Christ corresponded to the explanation of the Old Testament theophanies, which was taken over by the Alexandrine Fathers and which proved so effective in proof in apologetical use. The Christian Son of God doctrine could be most easily accepted by educated heathen in the shape of a Logos doctrine: See the notable confession of Celsus 2:31, "If really according to your teaching the Word is the Son of God, then we agree with you." This belief in the divinity of Christ is supported by the witness of Paul and by a row of primitive writings whose authority more and more was becoming absolute, and—what is not the least—it could with little pains be classified in the same order with the cosmological and theo-

logical principles which as the foundation for a rational Christian theology had been borrowed from the religious philosophy of the time. Where belief in the divine Logos for explanation of the origin and history of the world was taken up, there it was already decided by what means the divine honors and the Sonship of God of the Redeemer are alone to be determined. In this way the theologians have nothing at all to fear for their monotheism. For the eternal Substance lying back of the world—so they thought of the deity—can represent and unfold Himself in different subjects. He can communicate His peculiar uncreated being to different bearers, without being emptied or in His being divided. Finally the theologians had nothing to fear for the deity of Christ, in whom the incarnation of that Logos was to be seen. For the conception of the Logos was capable of being filled with the most manifold content, and for this skillful treatment there were the most abundant preparations. This conception could fit every change and increase of religious interest, every deepening of speculation, as well as every need of worship, yes even the new results of Biblical exegesis. Step by step it revealed itself as the most convenient variable, which could be immediately determined by every new quantity which was taken up in the theological advance. In fact it came to have a content which was in the sharpest opposition to the thoughts out of which the conception itself sprang, that is, a content which almost completely hid the cosmological origin of the conception. But it lasted long, until this was reached. But as long as this was not reached, as long as the Logos was used as a formula under which one conceived it as the original pattern of the world or as the reasonable world-law, so long there did not entirely cease a mistrust of the propriety of the conception for fixing the deity of Christ. For it was the deity itself in the Redeemer which the pious wished to see and nothing else. Athanasius was the first who made that possible for them by his interpretation of the formula of the Logos, but at the same time, if he did not bring the whole conception to nought, he really placed it in the background (that is, he shelved the ideas that connected

the Logos with the world-creation, etc., for those which connected it with redemption and the Redeemer). And the history of Christology from Athanasius to Augustine is the history of the substitution of the conception of the Son (as the "other I" of God) for that of the Logos, which of course bore many traits of the old Logos conception. Thus Harnack.

All this is most interesting, and there is enough truth in it to make it plausible. But two or three things should be said. (1) It ought not to be anything against a Christian truth—in this case the deity of Christ as the Word or Expression or Communicating Love and Power or Mediator or World-side, of God, in eternal hypostatic union and communion with Him, the conception of God as a complex, as a manifold Life instead of a bare unit (Mohammedanism)—that it fitted in with the noblest and highest thoughts of Jew and Pagan, was prepared for by them, and was the completion and flowering out of their best conceptions. The kinship of this truth with the highest reaches of Jewish or Pagan philosophy should rather commend it to those who look upon God as the inspirer and teacher of all His children. (2) But this truth was not borrowed from Jew or Greek. It was a part of the original consciousness of the Church, borne in upon believers by their Christian experience, by the leading of the Spirit who—it will not be denied—took of the things of Christ and revealed them unto them, and by their daily walk with Christ. It was indeed enlarged and deepened on the intellectual and literary side by the Old Testament, by the later Jewish-Alexandrian teachers, by the best things that Greek philosophy had to offer, but all this had to do only with the form, the unfolding, the apologetic statement, the theological shaping; not with the content and essence of the doctrine. All the truth that you have in your impersonal Logos, or personified Wisdom or Power, etc., said apostles and others, we have in Christ, the true Word, the true Revelation and Life of God. (3) The conception of Christ which believers had was not that he had received something from the Substance that lies back of the world, as this Substance unfolds himself or itself to differen-

individuals, but that he was Himself the peculiar and Only Begotten Son of God. (4) Their conception of Christ as the Word did not spring from cosmological speculations, but from the conviction—was it not inspired by the Spirit?—that He who was their life was also the life of the universe, that He who made them made the world. (5) It was not a transformation or bringing to naught of the original doctrine of the deity of Christ (the Word, etc.,) that, as it is alleged, it went forward from a cosmological to a redemptional reference. Both existed either implicitly or explicitly in the finest and devoutest souls. One was only the reverse or deeper side of the other. At the same time it is interesting to note that Harnack acknowledges that the truth of the deity of Jesus went back to Paul, the first literary champion of Christianity, who claimed to have received his Gospel direct from Christ, and that it went back to the early Christian witnesses whose writings were ever being invested with absolute authority in the Church. He also acknowledges that this doctrine was the deepest, the worthiest, the most satisfying to religious feeling and needs, the most manifold in its response to the growing life of Christian men, and the most fitted to meet the searchings and speculations of Christian thinkers, the doctrine which filled most truly the devotions and worship of Christian saints, as well as every advancing knowledge of the Bible. And with every advance in Christian theology that doctrine was not only not outgrown, but it was there to make the advance fruitful for life and for death, for comfort and for light, for salvation and for immortality.

Loofs, who belongs to the same general school as Harnack to whom he dedicated his book, acknowledges (DG 4 Aufl. 1906, 137-8) that a Trinitarian conception goes back to the New Testament, a conception which saw in the historical Christ and in the Holy Spirit an "economical" unfolding of the self-revealing God, and indeed so that the Logos appearing in Christ, although as Spirit one with God, was before ages (aeons) to be distinguished from Him, while the Spirit of God or of Christ in an analagous way was looked upon as a third

revelation of God which first went out from the historical Christ (Jno. 20:22) and is working in the Church. I do not ask whether this covers the New Testament doctrine, but it is interesting as a statement of an eminent scholar of the right Ritschlian wing that that doctrine is a Trinitarian one.

It was the noble aim of the Monarchians to preserve at all hazards the truth of one God while at the same time guarding in some form the divinity of Jesus. First, a word as to what are called the dynamistic (δύναμις power) Monarchians. These start from the historical human person of Jesus, but knowing that Christ was more than a man they guarantee the divinity in Him by asserting an indwelling power of the one God. Among these are to be counted the Alogi, a little company of people in Asia Minor, the Boston of the ancient Church, where all kinds of ideas were moving and fermenting, who seem to be called out by a reaction from the Montanist emphasis on the Spirit, with the various crude ideas which were connected with that emphasis, which was founded partly on John's gospel. They therefore threw overboard that gospel, and the Logos (Word) Christology which it proclaimed. They were the first rationalistic critics of the New Testament, calling attention to the difference between John's and the other gospels, and on the strength of these differences and of the doctrine of the Person of Christ contained in the former (though at bottom no different from the others) rejecting it. How thoroughly out of accord they were with the Christian current is seen by their utter repudiation of the Montanists as an un-Christian party. More important was Theodotus, the learned leather worker, who about 190 came from Byzantium to Rome. Epiphanius calls him (54:1) a "torn-off rag of the Alogi heresy", who taught that Jesus was a man, who by the divine decree was born of the Holy Ghost from a virgin, and that upon this most pious and just man the Spirit came down at the baptism in the Jordan. This Spirit which came down and entered into Jesus is called the Son of God, or Christ. In consequence of this endowment or kind of post-natal incarnation Jesus did His miracles. However it was not to be called an in-

carnation properly, and this Jesus Christ is not to be called God, or at the most (so some said) only after resurrection. Although these men seemed to share in other matters the general faith of the Church, and held to the common books of the New Testament canon including John, and held ideas on Christ which some think not far from those of Hermas, whose book enjoyed great favor in Church circles, yet they were excluded from Church fellowship—or at least Theodotus was—by Victor, bishop of Rome (190ff) because they made Christ ἀψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος a mere man. This charge was not fair as to Christ's origin, but was not at all fair as to His later relations to God, which were not at all those of a man. The later inflow of the divine Spirit into Christ made Him a kind of God. Under Bishop Zephyrinus (202ff) they formed their own church society in Rome.

The leather worker of Byzantium, whose following was apparently small, whose idea of a semi-human Christ only later divinely filled made no appeal to the general Church consciousness, has had his sweet revenge. For his Christ is coming to be—the necessary changes being made—the Christ of many in the so-called othordox churches. As long as you hold to the simple nature of Christ, that He is a man only as to His origin and essence, then you will admit almost anything desired, as to the fulness with which His beautiful and simple soul received the divine. Throw out the miraculous conception, for the modern man, it is said, will know nothing of the supernatural; throw out His essential oneness with God, for the modern man does not know or care anything about "metaphysics", for anything above historical phenomena and their rational causes; but after that bring in as much of God to explain His marvelous personality and influence as you like. This is the new Christology, which still claims to guard Christ's divinity, but it is as old as the leather worker of the Bosporus of the second century. But it has never been explained why only one human experienced so much of God as to be either worshiped as God by His followers or to practically take the place of God for those who would not wish to admit that they worshiped Him

as the absolute God. For Theodotus' Christ as a common man (χονὸσ ἄνθρωποσ Hip., Phil. 10:23, an idea which Loofs well says, p. 184, was with right looked upon as contrary to the tradition received by the Church) to have met this fate was a far greater miracle than the Christ received from the first in the Church—the Christ who was *both* man *and* the Son of God.

The other class of Monarchians, to whom properly the name belonged, were the modalistic Monarchians, sometimes called the Patripassians (those who believed the Father suffered). Here the start was made from the deity of Christ, and from that as a basis the argument was made backward on the universally received assumption of the only one God to the virtual denial of Christ's full humanity. That is, Christ Himself is the Almighty God and Father, or a mode of Him. This doctrine also arose in Asia Minor, and from there sprang over to Rome. Apparently its first representative was Noetus of Smyrna in the latter part of the second century. In the region of Polycarp, the pupil of St. John, where also memories of Ignatius were present, in that Asia Minor where the idea of the absolute deity of Christ was reigning, witnessed by the naive placing of Christ and God in the same category by Ignatius and Irenaeus, a placing which goes back through these and Polycarp to John (Paul) and to Christ—in that region it was easy by over-emphasizing His deity to lose sight of His absolute humanity, guaranteed by the incarnation, and to make Christ only another mode or form of the one God the Father. This Noetus did. But it was a true instinct that made the Church as jealous for the real humanity of Christ as for His real divinity, and therefore Noetus was excluded from fellowship, in spite of his question, What harm do I glorifying the Christ? A follower of Noetus and an enemy of the Montanists, Praxeas, went to Rome and introduced the doctrine there. Thence he went to Carthage, where "many sleeping in their simplicity of doctrine" (Ter., *Adv. Prax.* 1: compare the conditions of many Christians today over against the Christian Science propaganda), he found a large entrance, and

raised up against him the most powerful mind of the early Church before Origen, Tertullian, who met him with arguments (before 202) and compelled him to retract. Praxeas was a man of no small gift, as in Rome after the bishop there had acknowledged the prophetic gifts of Montanus, Prisca and Maximilla, and had bestowed his peace on the churches of Asia and Phrygia, Praxeas persuaded him, as the Judaizers persuaded his alleged predecessor, Peter, to a change of course to the deep disgust of Paul (Gal. 2:11-14), to withdraw his friendly letter and change his cordial feeling, besides apparently inducing the bishop to a favorable attitude to his doctrine of Christ. For as Tertullian says (*Prax.* 1) in a stinging sentence, "By this Praxeas did a twofold service to the devil in Rome: He drove away prophecy and brought in heresy; he put to flight the Paraclete and crucified the Father." Not only so, but according to Hippolytus, one of the greatest church fathers of the third century, not only the bishop of Rome (probably Victor), but also his successor, Zephyrinus (about 202-218); whom Hippolytus calls—we hope with exaggeration—"an ignorant and shamefully corrupt man", and again an "ignorant and illiterate person", became hopelessly involved in the doctrine of Noetus (*Phil.* 9:2, 6), and even more, his successor Callistus (ab, 218), a thorough knave according to Hippolytus, was carried away by the same Christology (9:6, 7). It is not against these Roman popes that, of little mental equipment, untrained in theological distinctions and holding firmly to the old church teaching of the divinity of Christ, they should have been misled by the plausible disciples of Noetus and in desiring to maintain the deity of the Savior they should have leaned backward, so to speak, and become practically or actually Partripassians, as the great bishop affirms. It is only as we measure them by the later dogma of papal infallibility, first officially affirmed in 1870, that they appear incompetent leaders of the Church blindly leading it into what came to be roundly rejected as a heresy. They are not to be blamed for that dogma, which is shattered on their history. That is, if we assume the substantial accuracy of Hippolytus.

The modalistic Christology went a step farther. What is called the Father and Son are one and the same; but the designation Son is not an arbitrary change of name, but expresses the *mode* to which God determines Himself. God Himself makes Himself a Son. He is born His own Son. According to the time, He is either Father or Son. On the cross He gave up His spirit to Himself. That is, God transforms Himself into different modes. If we may believe accounts which are late (Basil, Athanasius) Sabellius was one of the principal men of this view. One and the same is Father and Son. God appears now as Father, now as Son, now as Holy Spirit, according to the necessity of the divine activity. How far these three persons or appearances or energies are to be looked upon as the *successive coming forth* or revelation of the one God in creative, redeeming and sanctifying work, cannot be said with certainty.

Callistus, bishop of Rome 217ff, though really a Patripassian, tried to make a compromise and bring peace to the Church. In holding finally to the sameness of essence of Father and Son he satisfied the modalistic Monarchians, but he struck the clever middle ground, viz., that the Father did not suffer but only suffered *with the Son,* who in this relation is to be distinguished from the Father, who is Spirit, while the Son is spirit and flesh, or briefly flesh. Hippolytus says (9:7) that "Callistus alleges that the Logos Himself is Son and Himself is Father, and though called by a different title He is in reality one indivisible Spirit. The Father is not one person and the Son another, but they are one and the same. All things are full of the divine Spirit. The Spirit which became incarnate in the virgin is not different from the Father, but one and the same....The Father who subsisted in (the Son) Himself, after He had taken to Himself our flesh, raised it to the nature of the deity, by bringing it into unity with Himself, and made it one; so that the Father and the Son must be styled one God, and this person being one cannot be two." In this way Callistus contends, Hippolytus goes on to say, that the "Father suffered along with the Son; for He does not wish to assert

that the Father suffered and is one person, being careful to avoid blasphemy against the Father. Senseless and knavish fellow who improvises blasphemies in every direction, only that he may not seem to speak in violation of the truth, and is not abashed at being at one time betrayed into the tenet of Sabellius, whereas at another in the doctrine of Theodotus. It is evident, whatever bitterness and exaggeration may breathe through the great orthodox bishop's words, that his moral and theological enemy, Callistus, was trying to carry water on both shoulders. Von Schubert well describes (i. 273) his formula as an iridescent or changing-color (*schillernde*) one, and neither Sabellius, on the one hand, nor Hippolytus on the other, was satisfied with it, while Tertullian directs a powerful book against the followers of Praxeas, "whom we may well understand to be no one but Callistus and his people". Anyhow, Monarchianism in the West could not stand the onsets of such trenchant pens as Tertullian and Hippolytus, and was given a finishing stroke in the book on the Trinity by Novatian, independent bishop of Rome 251. In the East the pure and mighty spirit of Origen helped to kill it. But it may be that the facing-two-ways formula of the slippery ecclesiastical politician Callistus were a kind of a bridge for the quiet passing over into the Church of the regular Christology, a doctrine of the person of Christ which saved both His humanity and His divinity, which went back from the theologians of the first part of the third century through Irenaeus, Polycarp, John, Paul, to Christ Himself. That preserved the interest the dynamistic Monarchians were jealous for—the actual manhood of Jesus, providing for His deity in a secondary way, as well as the interest their modalistic brethren felt uppermost—the absolute Godhead of Jesus.

I cannot understand the insistence of Harnack in making (*Realenc.* 3 Aufl. XIII, 306-7) the conquering Christology the product of the Platonic-Stoic philosophy, except in the sense that all truth is one. Men like Tertullian and Hippolytus were not inclined to heathen notions as such. No, it was the consciousness of standing in the stream of living tradition that

flowed from the fountain head, in the possession of a Christian experience that meant a divine Redeemer, and face to face with authentic documents that from the earliest time bore witness that Christ had not only come in the flesh, but that He who had come was the Son of God. And the Christology that pressed back Monarchianism was the most scientific, the most rational, inevitable expression of these facts. Nor is Harnack right in saying that this history of the fight with Monarchianism is the "history of the supplanting of the historical Christ by the preexistent, of the living by the imaginary", and that in doctrine it "is the victorious attempt to keep the Christian faith of the laity in leading strings by a theological formula they could not understand, and to set the mystery of the person (of Christ) in the place of the person". Just the contrary was the fact. It was certainly as the genuine gospels and epistles were being more and more scattered and studied, as the knowledge of them was being more and more deepened and enlarged, and thus the facts of the historical Christ were becoming more and more a part of the general knowledge—it was exactly when this process was going on that the true doctrine of Christ as over against Theodotus and Noetus was sinking into the universal Christian consciousness. And would it be said that the fantastical conception of him of Byzantium, viz., that at some one time in His experience God poured Himself into Jesus, so that after that time He was divine while not before, was a more living, a more real, a more historical conception than that of his opponents? Much less the conception of Noetus of successive transformations of God the Father! Did that correspond to the inner experience of Jesus as set forth in the Gospels? I do not say that there is no mystery in the person of Jesus. Every personality is an unfathomable sea. The only difference between the mystery of the Monarchians and that of their opponents is that the latter was rational and satisfied the facts, while the former was not and did not. I cannot share, therefore, Harnack's sympathy with the vanquished in this fight. As grossly exaggerated also is Harnack's statement that with the victory of the Logos Christology the

"thought of the real human personality of the Redeemer was condemned as ecclesiastically insufferable". The actual human personality of Jesus was fundamental in the Church. In fact, that was one reason for her conflict with both Gnosticism and Monarchianism. But the Church saw that such a real human personality was not inconsistent with a pre-existence in essential oneness with God, but was guaranteed in the incarnation. It is our task to find a place for all the facts.

The scheme of the modalistic Monarchians has had a fascination for minds of varied type. An eminent and venerable Congregational clergyman writes me that he still holds to the doctrine of the Trinity, though he would state it in a modalistic form. It is sometimes said that many in our so-called orthodox churches are really Sabellians. It is not the place here to make an argument in systematic theology. But for those that are drawn to Noetus and his school I would ask that they read the literature his views called out, and consider whether there can be after all any real modal Trinity unless it rests back on an immanent Trinity. But there can be many God-endowed men.

THE NEW EVANGELISTIC MOVEMENT IN THE GERMAN CHURCH.

BY FRANKLIN JOHNSON, D.D., LL.D., PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

At various times during the last three years obscure reports have come to us in America concerning the multiplication of meetings for the exposition of the Bible, for prayer, and for conference in the Lutheran and Reformed churches in Germany. But the movement did not appear to be extensive and, where it was observed, seemed to be in the hands of the pastors. The last number of the official "Church Yearbook"[1] devotes thirty-three pages to it, and shows that it has rapidly assumed astonishing proportions. The "Church Yearbook" is the official report of the German church in all its branches, and is now in its thirty-fourth year. So highly is it appreciated in Germany that the Prussian government pay out of the church funds to place a copy of it annually in the hands of every church officer. It is from this official publication that I shall draw such particulars concerning this revival as seem to be most important.

I. THE NAME.

The writer of the report, pastor Ernest Bunke, of Berlin, has some trouble to find a name for the movement. The report is entitled "Inner-Church Evangelization." He gives us three names, however, showing that the movement is yet in its infancy, so that both its promoters and its critics are undecided as to its most appropriate designation. The three are "inner church evangelization," "awakening movement," and "associations movement."[2] But generally he uses the third

(1) Kirchliches Jahrbuch, auf das Jahr 1907. 34. Jahrgang. Gütersloh. Druck und Verlag von C. Bertelsmann.

(2) "Erweckungsbewegung;" "innerkirchliche Evangelization;" "Gemeinschaftsbewegung."

of these phrases, "associations movement," evidently attracted to it by the facts that the movement has led to the formation of voluntary associations in the local churches, and that the term is preferred by the members of these bands.

II. SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MOVEMENT.

The movement takes various characteristics in various places. But in general the following features are prominent.

1. It has seized upon the laity more extensively than the clergy. Some pastors favor it, but it prospers without the aid of the pastor where this is withheld. The more liberalistic and skeptical pastors dislike it. The dry-as-dust orthodox pastors, who place their confidence in a correct and elaborate theological belief, dislike it. The ritualistic pastors who hold that baptism, confirmation, and the Lord's Supper are the chief means of salvation, dislike it. But there are many pastors who sympathize with it and enter into it; and there are some pastors of other kinds who are shrewd enough to wish to get hold of it in order to turn it about withersoever they will. As yet, however, it is distinctively a movement of the laity.

2. It is a movement of the relatively young. The fathers and mothers, accustomed to older things, and satisfied with them, do not enter into it as do the sons and daughters. Few of its most active promoters are over forty. The relative youth of those who are engaged in it gives it the power of fresh enthusiasm and unimpaired energy. At the same time, the lack of the more mature brings to it, in some cases, greater zeal than discretion.

3. The writer of this report tells us that in some places the movement exhibits traits of "Darbyism", the name by which the views and practices of the Plymouth Brethren are known in Germany. He tells us also that some persons call it unfavorably "the new pietism", thus associating it with the pietism of the eighteenth century, which ran into extremes of emotion and superstition. One of the Church Inspectors is quoted as instituting a comparison between what he calls the old

and the new pietism. To the old pietism he attributes three great advantages: Its dependence on the Word, its perfect reliance on free grace, and its tendency to a life of meditation and quietude. As its defects, he names its rigidity, the narrowness of its horizon, as contrasted with the entire broad field of saving truth, and the limitation of its work to the edification of its own adherents. As the failures of the new pietism, he mentions its disregard of that which has become historic, and its overestimation of its own importance, as if it alone were right. As its advantages he mentions its interest in the evangelization of the entire people, its disposition to seek publicity, and its strong assertion that justification must manifest itself in the sanctification of the daily life.

III. THE EXTENSION OF THE WORK.

The progress of the movement has been remarkable for its rapidity. "It strides forth," says our report, "and that not in general by the mere awakening influence of one person over another, or of one place over another. No; its representatives are fully conscious of their aim, and have the full intention to propagate it through special persons and extraordinary preparations."

We have a detailed statement of the regions in which the associations are growing, and these embrace almost the entire empire. They are East Prussia, West Prussia, Pomerania, Posen, Silesia, the Kingdom of Saxony, the Province of Saxony, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg, Hanover, Thuringia, Hesse, Westphalia, the Rhine province, the Palatinate, Alasce-Loraine, Baden, Wurttemberg, and Bavaria. In all these territories one observes "only energy, advancement, and a loud manifestation of enthusiasm and confidence."

IV. THE METHODS OF ACTION.

Some of these are obscure to me, and, as they are mentioned

only incidentally, need explanation. Thus at a conference of the associations at Gnadau, there were enthusiasts who introduced the custom, imported from Wales, for several persons to pray loudly at the same time, and had to be silenced by the leader. Mention is made of after-meetings of persons interested in the movement, and it would seem that in some places these follow the regular Sunday morning service, and pastors are advised not to forbid or hinder them. It appears further that there are itinerant evangelists who offer aid to pastors in holding special meetings; and, as they are not usually highly educated, and are not ordained, they cause perplexity, and pastors are advised what attitude towards them to take. It appears still further that the members of the associations like to observe the Lord's Supper in their own assemblies, so that there is rather a burning communion-question in Germany, and pastors are advised to yield to the demand. These things may be clear to the German reader who has observed the movement, but they need to be explained a little further to us who live at a distance. To what extent do they prevail? What are their special causes? Whither do they tend?

In general, however, the chief activities of the associations can be understood from this report. They embrace

1. The organization of an association within every church which will permit it. Thus we have a large and growing church, within the church, a body of spiritual men and women rapidly becoming conscious of their power. This is precisely what Luther at one time desired and advocated. He abandoned the plan, however, because he became convinced that under the circumstances existing in his time it could not succeed.

2. Meetings for prayer and conference and for the exposition of the Scriptures, the last being in many places the chief feature. These meetings seem to be the heart of the entire movement. They are marked by much informality, and voluntary song and prayer and testimony are made prominent in them.

3. Regular district conferences led by the wisest and warmest members, sometimes pastors, sometimes influential noble-

men, sometimes lay-evangelists. Here the exercises are not so informal as in the local meetings; the recognized leaders are heard, plans for more aggressive campaigns are discussed, mistakes are brought forward and criticised, and new methods of work are suggested. More than thirty of these district conferences are announced in the one monthly paper, "Philadelphia"; four of them are appointed for Berlin; but the series covers the empire. It is interesting to observe how some of these conferences have become specialized. One is for "believing merchants"; another for "believing bakers"; another for a "course of Bible study". Several are announced as aiming to promote a deeper life of faith. These conferences are not narrowly local; in the majority of instances they are designed to bring together the representative workers of entire regions. One is announced as a summer festival of all the associations in Schleswig-Holstein. The movement has been greatly stimulated by these district meetings while by the same means it has entered upon a process of self-criticism and attained a better balance and methods at once more reasonable and more influential.

4. Evangelists who travel from place to place in order to form or to encourage associations wherever they go. They are usually laymen. They are much more numerous, if I do not mistake, than those who offer to aid pastors in special revival meetings.

5. Men of thorough education who labor among the university students and other people of culture. They give courses of lectures, which in some cases are largely attended.

6. The publication of magazines and newspapers in the interest of the movement. They are characterized in this report as "cheap weekly sheets, and all sorts of monthlies". They are "constantly increasing in number."

7. The maintenance of schools for the training of the laborers. Fourteen of these are named, and many of them are described at some length. A few are small, but the majority have an attendance of sixty or eighty, with graduating classes of ten or fifteen. For entrance only a desire to do religious work, a public school education, and bodily and mental health,

are required. Some of these schools are for women, some for men. One of them is in Berlin, and is managed by Herr Köhler, who was formerly a pastor in the established church, but laid down the office, had himself immersed, and entered on the work of the associations.

8. The erection of buildings for the meetings. This is a marked feature of the movement in all parts of the empire. Take East Prussia as an example. In Königsberg the association has purchased ground on which it is to build a hall capable of seating twelve hundred persons. In Osterode a hall has just been dedicated. In Pilkallen a hall has been purchased. In Lyck a house is planned. There seems to be a determination to secure buildings everywhere. This shows that the church buildings are not adapted to the wants of the associations, or else that the pastors are not willing to have them used for anything but the stated services. It shows also a dangerous tendency of the associations to draw away from the established church.

V. THE THEOLOGY OF THE MOVEMENT.

Every great movement in the history of religion has a dogmatic basis. The movement of Abraham out of Chaldea, the movement of the Israelites out of Egypt, the great outburst of Buddhism, the conquests of Islam, the early Roman Catholic missions to Western Europe, the Reformation, the Wesleyan revival; take these as familiar examples of the truth which I have stated. A religious organization may have an abundance of correct dogma, and yet be dead. Dogma is not life. Nevertheless, a religious organization without dogma is always without life. The church without a creed, either written or unwritten, is a dead church. We may be certain in advance that these associations in the German church have a definite theology which the evangelists can preach and the people comprehend. What is it?

Two statements of it are given in the Yearbook, from two different sources, and they are in substantial agreement.

The first and longest is from a young theologian named Gardtell, who labors chiefly among theological students, and has great influence with them. He is a Lutheran, but has had himself immersed, not to raise the question of baptism among his hearers, but to be personally just right, or, as our Lord said, "to fulfill all righteousness." He speaks only in secular buildings, does not open his lectures with prayer, avoids all show of special piety in dress and speech, and discusses all questions in a strictly scientific manner. He rejects absolutely the "theological fairy-story that the Germans as a whole are Christians, though many of them are not conscious of being Christians." He rejects both the elaborate confessional and the liberal theologies, and desires to return to the simple substance of the apostolic preaching.

In a meeting at Blankenburg this man set forth the following statement of principles:

"1. We stand upon the ground of the entire holy Scriptures, which we acknowledge as the sole authority in doctrine and life. To us, the infallibility and absolute sufficiency of the holy Scriptures stand firm.

"2. We emphasize the deity and the vicarious sin-offering of Christ in the full apostolic sense.

"3. We demand of every human being a personal and total decision of the will for Jesus, as also a separation from sin and the world. We believe in the eternal condemnation of all who do not accept Jesus.

"4. We desire to win students and other educated persons to Jesus, and to lead them into a deeper personal and scientific understanding of primitive Christianity.

"5. We serve no special denomination, nor will we support any special program of church politics. But we guarantee, so far as in us lies, to every man full freedom of conscience to serve God without respect of persons, according to his Biblical knowledge."

The second statement is from an itinerant preacher named Wittekind, who has traveled extensively to promote the work of the associations, and knows them thoroughly. He begins by

declaring that they have no thought of separating from the established church, but desire only to work unhindered within her communion. He then continues:

"1. We teach justification through faith alone, as an experience of the heart, and this brings us somewhat into conflict with the doctrine of baptismal regeneration.

"2. The holy Scriptures are our highest authority, our only norm of faith and life. They are to us the whole revelation of God, and are therefore inerrant. This brings us into conflict with the present-day Biblical critics.

"3. The church, according to article VII of the Augsburg Confession, is to us the community of those who truly believe.

"That we are engaged in the effort simply to make these principles effective has for its consequence that the diseased and putrid places in the body of our established church are revealed.

"Our associations can no longer endure preaching in which the unbelief of modern theology finds expression. They simply refuse any longer to hear such preaching. They cannot be constrained any longer to attend church out of reverence or in the traditional manner."

VI. FRICTION.

The author of our report begins it with this word. There is friction between the established church and the associations, and also within the bosom of the associations themselves.

The friction between the established church and the associations arises, in part, from their unavoidable antagonism to a high and dry orthodox preaching, which has no relation to the daily life, to ritualistic preaching, which bids the people put their trust in the sacraments; and to skeptical preaching, which takes its texts from the Bible, and proceeds to tell how faulty the Bible is. The antagonism of the associations to these kinds of preaching amounts to a positive revolt. As there are thousands of pastors who give the people no real gospel, they are in danger of becoming embittered against the associations. In

some of the German states there are laws which forbid religious assemblies not licensed by the government. In one of these states not long ago some of the pastors invoked the aid of the police to arrest those found in the meetings. Of this measure, however, they seem now to have become ashamed, and they no longer resort to it. In some other states the laws forbid voluntary meetings where singing and prayer are had, and in these states, when certain pastors complained to the police, the associations simply gave up singing and prayer, and limited the exercises to the exposition of Scripture and to testimonies like those of our conference meetings; and thus nothing could be done against them. On the whole, the legal opposition seems to be ceasing of itself, in very shame.

If some of the pastors oppose the associations, many of the representatives of the associations oppose certain classes of the pastors without hesitation. Here is an extract from an editorial in the weekly journal, "On the Watchtower", for December 9, 1906:

"In the majority of the congregations that I am acquainted with, in most of the churches in which I have been, a false Word of God, not consciously false, but nevertheless a really false word of God, is preached; and it would be better to have no preaching than to have a false so-called Word of God preached.

"Wherein consists the falsity? (1) That when the commandments of God are spoken of, nothing is said of the curse of eternal condemnation for those who transgress the law. (2) Much is often said about the gospel, of a very beautiful and enthusiastic kind, and the chief emphasis is laid on the worth of baptism, which is so strongly presented that no room is left for conversion, and in the majority of cases the gospel of the cross is not preached, and the grace flowing from the wounds of the Lamb is not presented. (3) The Word concerning the law without hell, and the Word concerning the gospel without the cross, are so mixed that no distinction is made between the converted and the unconverted among the hearers. Such preaching is deadly, whether it is interesting or not. Where there is such a false Word of God men can no more come to

a living faith than wheat can grow where destructive tares are sown."

Another leader of the associations, who labors chiefly in West Prussia, is quoted as saying in a newspaper article that "it does not pay to do any more patchwork on the established church; she is ripe for destruction; therefore, the associations labor with redoubled vigor, and without much regard for her." He entitled his article, "The Evangelical Established Church in her Death Struggle."

These, it is admitted, are extreme expressions, and yet evidences of an emotion which exists in many hearts; in some, not yet brought up fully into the light of consciousness; in others, only reserved from speech, but clearly and strongly felt.

On the whole, the attitude of the church towards the associations, as of the associations towards the church, is one of suspicion, though not of pronounced antagonism.

There is some friction also within the associations, as there has been among those promoting every forward movement of the past, from the apostolic age to the present day. Some are more strongly attached to the church than others, and are timid in their counsels and their conduct with reference to it; while others, more nearly weaned from the mother, scorn all semblance of dependence, and criticise without reserve. There are conflicting tastes; the educated and the ignorant have not yet learned to work together in entire harmony. "The inner-church evangelization," says our report, "presents to us no picture of unity."

VII. THE FUTURE.

What will become of this movement? Will the German church do with it what the Anglican church did with the Wesleyan movement? Or, will she encourage it, keep it within her bosom, and derive new life from it? If she shall choose the latter course, will the associations themselves continue warm and vital, or will they be chilled and frozen by their too friendly and too frosty surroundings? One cannot predict.

Nor can one be confident of what he ought to desire. Our Lord said that it was better for His disciples to separate themselves from the Jewish organization, that His new wine must be put into new wine-skins, His new cloth be made into a new garment, instead of being wasted in the effort to patch the old. This was better for the original Lutheran movement, for the Zwinglian movement, for the Wesleyan movement. Separation, differentiation, is the general condition of progress, as Herbert Spencer long ago pointed out. If a division in the German church shall take place, let us not feel discouraged.

Thus far the higher ecclesiastical authorities have shown a disposition to protect the associations against the opposition of hotile pastors. For example, in one of the small towns of Brandenburg one of the associations fell under the condemnation of the pastor and the school teacher. These men at length went from house to house warning people against it. They threatened the more needy attendants at the meetings with the withdrawal of aid from the poor funds, and the pastor declared that he would not officiate at the funerals of the members of the association. The matter went so far that the children of the place became divided, and those who attended the meetings of the association were derided and jostled in the streets by the others. At length an appeal was made to the General Superintendent of Religion at Berlin, a Cabinet officer. He visited the place, which is left nameless in our report, assembled the church officers and strongly protested against their attitude, pointing out the great need which the German church had for such new life as that offered by the associations. If this wise course shall be pursued by all the higher ecclesiastical officers, the associations may remain in the church, for at present they do not want to go out. May the will of the Lord be done in this matter, and, if there shall be an outburst of wrath, may the wrath of man praise Him.

THE PLACE OF THE RESURRECTION IN HISTORY.

BY REV. W. E. HENRY, PARKERSBURG, W. VA.

The resurrection of Jesus Christ is a unique event in the world's history, but not an isolated one. In the broad field of the world's developments it stands forth as strikingly as the highest peak of a great mountain system; to those inner forces which produced these developments it stands related as the hub to the spokes of a wheel, as the life to the plant that springs from the earth. Whoever has read thoughtfully the statements of the New Testament as to the relation of our Lord's resurrection to the individual Christian life will be in part prepared for such a statement, for that which occupies so vital a place in individual lives cannot be regarded as separate from the great world-life and powerless with respect to it. But the relation of the resurrection to the history of the world at large is so notable and important that one wonders attention is not more frequently called to it.

True history is likely to be false history unless the thought-life of the period under consideration be rightly understood. Human action grows out of human thought. The political events of any age are always of less importance than the thought-currents of that age. Those things which touch and fashion the thought-life of the world, therefore, are the things of highest importance in the world's history. It is doubtless entirely safe to say that no other event has ever influenced and modified the thought of the world as the resurrection of our Lord.

I. IT COMPLETED ISRAEL'S HOPE.

Jehovah selected Israel to be His own people in a peculiar sense. Consequently the Hebrews constituted a microcosm

within the macrocosm of the world's thought-life. To them were given, from time to time, rich revelations of truth. Kept isolated, as they were, from the life of the world about them, their plan of thinking was lifted morally far above that of the surrounding peoples.

But they were not able always to grasp and unify the revelations given them. Especially was this true with respect to the promised deliverer for whom they looked. That "seed of the woman" which was to "bruise the serpent's head" was presented from many points of view before the stream of prophecy had ceased to flow, and the Old Testament canon had been closed. He was to be a great Prophet,[1] a great Priest,[2] a great King,[3] a great Sufferer,[4] a Son of man",[5] Himself God.[6] As Liddon has observed,[7] it ought not to surprise us that the people of Israel found difficulty in harmonizing these seemingly contradictory conceptions of the Coming One. And evidently the presentations of the future deliverer which caused them the most trouble were those which conceived Him as a great sufferer and Himself God. A great prophet might be at the same time a great priest, and a great prophet-priest might at the same time be a great king; but how could one who embraced in Himself all these characteristics be at the same time a great sufferer and Himself God?

The conceptions were so entirely incompatible that they were never combined in the thought of the Hebrew people. Gradually the Coming One came to be thought of more and more as a mighty ruler, and the other phases of his character were largely lost from view, ignored, or assigned to another. So far had this process gone by the time our Lord came, that, "If at the outset of His ministry He had openly declared His Messiahship, He would have aroused vain hopes, probably have precipitated a revolution, and brought Himself in conflict with Roman authority".[8] He was obliged to remain *incognito* until

(1) Deut. 18:18, 19. (2) Zech. 6:13. (3) Ps. 2:45. (4) Isa. 53. (5) Dan. 7:13. (6) Isa. 9:6.
(7) "The Divinity of our Lord", P. 88.
(8) Milton G. Evans, President of Crozer Theological Seminary, New Testament Theology (printed for class-room use), p. 47.

He had in some measure changed the conceptions of His followers.

But even the richness of His life and teaching did not suffice to clarify His disciples' thought. The utter despondency into which His death threw them shows conclusively that, privileged though they had been, they were not yet able to blend the various Old Testament conceptions of Him into one. That He could die, and still be the great ruler of whom the prophets had written, continued to be beyond their power to comprehend. They had accepted Him as the Son of God, but they could not believe that the anointed Son of God could die.

The resurrection, however, made the impossible possible. As iron-filings scattered on a glass come into order and unity at the touch of a magnet, so the various conceptions of the Messiah which had lain uncombined in Hebrew thought were by the mighty power of Christ's resurrection merged into one. In the light of His triumph over the tomb it could be seen that His sufferings were but the pathway to His Kingship; that the incomparable "Man of sorrows" had most fittingly become the "King of kings". All lack of harmony disappeared. The contradictory became the complementary. Jesus of Nazareth stood forth as the perfect embodiment of all that had been foretold of Israel's Coming One. The hope of Israel, which had continued more or less vague and incomplete during the centuries, became definite and complete and world-conquering in its reach.

II. IT ILLUMINATED THE GENTILE DARKNESS.

Man's failure to read the future has been most pathetic. In the earliest history of the great peoples of antiquity belief in a future life appears firmly entrenched. During centuries and millenniums, both before and after Christ, God kept His chosen people largely isolated from the world-life about them. The nations were left to themselves to demonstrate whether by seeking in their own way they might find out God. At least some

of them lived under natural conditions as favorable to development as the world knows. Great civilizations sprang up, some of which continue until today. Great cities were built, great legal systems wrought out, great literatures written. Some of the master minds of history grappled, as such minds always do, with the fundamental soul-problems of the race.

But the outcome was darkness rather than light in every case. The conviction that at death man did not cease to be, led to inquiry as to the nature of that future life. Satisfactory reply was found impossible. A sufficient basis for the conviction itself was sought and none could be discovered. Consequently as the centuries passed the conviction became less strong. Space will not permit the setting forth in detail of the evidence for these general statements, but the movement of thought concerning man's future in the Graeco-Roman world prior to Christ and in India down to recent times will be sketched briefly as illustrative of the universal tendency.

The early literature of India makes it clear that from ten to fifteen centuries before Christ the people of that land believed in a future existence, though some uncertainty remains as to whether that existence was thought of as endless. By doing the things he ought, man might pass into "that everlasting and imperishable world where there is eternal light and glory".[9] In its earliest form this belief in a future existence "is a cheerful and hopeful belief, expressive of a joy in life and a desire for life. There is no hint of the wish to be rid of the burden of existence; no suggestion of the previous life of the soul, or of the rebirth of the soul in the body of man or beast. The Vedic hymns have nothing today of transmigration, or any dread cycle of births and deaths."[10]. Later, from some unknown source, the doctrine of transmigration came into Indian thought, and the cheerfulness and hopefulness of the earlier views of the future life were gradually supplanted by heaviness and despair. And now for centuries the best the

(9) Rig Veda.

(10) Quotations in this and following paragraph are taken from Salmond's "The Christian Doctrine of Immortality", except where otherwise noted.

future has held for the ordinary man has been only a continuous succession of births and deaths, each succeeding interval of life but little better or worse than the preceding. For the fully enlightened there is something somewhat better. These may enter into "the eternal rest of Nirvana". But that "eternal rest", whatever else may be said about it, certainly means "at least the cessation of personal life, the end of the weary way of individuality.....the absorption of the individual soul in the Universal Soul".

In early Greek thought death was regarded as the worst of evils, stronger than the gods themselves. Something survived death, but not the full, real man. The future was dark and gloomy because of the poverty of existence. Man's future was to be spent in the "house of Hades", a place "desolate of joy". The plains were barren; the rivers were rivers of hate, sorrow, lamentation, fire; the trees were fruitless poplars; the sun never pierced the gloom and everlasting night reigned supreme. It was a place of horror to even the gods themselves. The dead were thought to have hereafter "all they had on earth, but in reduced, deceptive form". This "reduced, deceptive form" of things about him, joined with the failure of the full man himself to survive death, caused his future existence to be "so emptied of the strength and fulness of life that nothing could dispel its gloom, no honor or consideration within its dark domain could make it tolerable". In later Grecian thought the conception of the future became somewhat changed. The Eleusinian mysteries gave "the hope of a better immortality" by spectacular ceremonial teaching. The Orphic mysteries introduced a moralizing element. Pindar deepened this moral element, and pictured the future of the good as brighter still. Plato brought the doctrine of the future to its highest development in Greek thought. Indeed, it is hardly too much to say of his discussion, that it is "intrinsically the greatest contribution drawn from philosophical speculation upon the question....the noblest single offering the human reason has yet made upon the

altar of human hope".[11] But even this, which doubtless marks the limit of the human mind in that direction, "did not rise to a permanent contribution to man's faith and hope. It failed to take hold of the common mind. It did not even address itself to the masses of the people". Plato's "arguments did not convince". It remained for Aristotle, for a time a pupil of Plato and later his successful rival, to formulate those views of the future which finally prevailed in the Graeco-Roman world. He sternly followed "the guidance of his logic to its last conclusions".[12] In a formal treatise "On the Soul" he formally examined its various elements and their mutual relations. The soul, according to his teaching, is the energy or function of an organized body. Two elements are found in it, the passive and the active. Of these the first is perishable, and only the latter is immortal. But this active element of the soul does not form any part of a man in reality—"it comes from without, and is not bound to the *me* by any organic ties."[13] Just what Aristotle means by this active element of the soul is very hard to understand, but there can be no question as to his conclusion. "By affirming that the eternal (active) intelligence alone was immortal, he positively denies individual immortality. On this point of the Peripatetic teaching there cannot be the slightest dispute."[14]

These teachings of the great logician fell into congenial soil. More and more they spread abroad until the Christ came. And with their spread there settled down upon those Mediterranean lands such darkness as only the Sun of Righteousness could penetrate, such despair as only the Desire of all nations could relieve by hope. In the words of Dr. Breed: "The heart of the Roman world was consumed with desire which could not be gratified; shaken with the agitation of a soul no longer master of itself. The hope of annihilation was the only consolation which it enjoyed, and in this heartless, sickening, stifling, overwhelming despair the representative of the Graeco-Roman

(11) Geddis, "The Phaedo of Plato".
(12) Westcott, "The Gospel of the Resurrection", p. 148.
(13) Weber, "History of Philosophy", p. 129.
(14) Id. p. 130.

world abandoned himself to anything that might afford him some relief."[15]

"On that hard pagan world disgust
And secret loathing fell;
Deep weariness and sated lust
Made human life a hell."[16]

So everywhere the human mind has failed to reach the light with respect to the future. And if the conviction that there is a future life determined by the life that now is, be torn from the human breast, what will be the nature of the present life? If answer needs to be made, let history speak again—the history of our Lord's day and of our day. Darkness in the midst of the light, yea, darkness that swallows up the light and becomes darker still. It was earth's moral midnight without moon or star that was shot through by the sunlight of Christ's resurrection. With His rising the vanishing and vanquished conviction that a man should live hereafter came back to dwell eternally with men, and to become more and more the greater artificer of life. A happier morn this world has never seen than when our Lord stepped forth from death to life, and bade the light go forth through all earth's dismal night.

III. IT RECONCILED THE WORLD'S THOUGHT.

We have already seen that the truth given to Israel remained in a chaotic state until Christ had risen. And just as in the Hebrew world truth was seen in segments and in no wise grasped as a whole, so also was it in the great Gentile world.

There is discernible in each one of the well-known ancient religions a considerable portion of truth, but no one of them, apart from Judaism, even approximated that symmetry of truth necessary to the religion that would become universal. Brahmanism has a deep sense of the spiritual, of the infinite, of

(15) "Preparation of the World for Christ", p. 399.
(16) Matthew Arnold's Poems, "Oberman Once More".

the eternal; but it falls far short of any adequate conception of matter, of the finite and of time. Buddhism was a revolt from Brahmanism, according to Clarke, and emphasized those truths ignored by Brahmanism. Consequently in Buddhism thought centers about matter, not spirit, about the finite and not the infinite. Confucianism exalted the family and made it the basis of the state, but in some respects it can hardly with propriety be called a religion at all.[17] Zoroastrianism conceived the world as the great battle ground between the good and the evil. Freedom and right and wrong were made prominent, but there was no unity. All was confusion and perpetual conflict. Egypt stressed the life forces of nature. Her gods were "powers and laws", too mysterious and far-removed from men to be really worshipped. Greece saw only men. "Everything in the Greek Pantheon is human".[18] Consequently the gods were too near the people to receive any real reverence.

Moreover, in addition to this entire failure on the part of each and all of these religions of antiquity to approach that full development of truth which alone can make a religion universal, it is evident that the various truths embodied in them were apparently antagonistic. Not only was the positive truth of Buddhism opposed to that of Brahmanism, but a similar antagonism existed between Confucianism and Zoroastrianism, and between the religion of Greece and that of Egypt. If there was needed in the Hebrew world something to unify and complete Israel's conception of the truth, how much greater was that need in the Gentile world.

And now, bearing all these facts in mind, a still broader view of the world's thought must be undertaken. Westcott, including all religions apart from the Hebrew under the term Paganism, has pointed out three great lines of difference be-

(17) Confucianism presents itself to the inquirer partly as a system of political and social ethics and partly as a state religion, embodying the worship of nature, of the spirits of departed worthies, and of ancestors. From one point of view it is, therefore, a religion, while from another it is not.—Arthur H. Smith, "The Uplift of China", p. 88.

(18) James Freeman Clarke, "Ten Great Religions", Part I. p. 24.

tween Paganism and Judaism:[19] (1) The point of view from which man was considered. Paganism contemplated man in himself, Judaism viewed him as the creature of Jehovah. (2) The source of authority. In Paganism the appeal was made to "a common conscience, or to the necessary laws of thought, or to history". In Judaism the appeal was to "the word of the Lord". That is, in the former men obeyed because they recognized the command as essentially just, or were obliged to submit to a stronger force; in the latter "the statutes of right" were "not primarily based on intuitions or suggested by experience, but embodied in a law" which must be respected not because it was inherently right, but because it came from Jehovah. (3) The principle of life. The life spring of Paganism was human freedom. Man was a law unto himself, fashioning his own restraints and rearing his own structure of knowledge. The life principle of Judaism was divine sovereignty. God spake, and his revelation must be accepted and his commands obeyed. Man was not master of himself but the servant of the Most High.

Evidently this last difference is the fundamental one. And with this basal difference between Paganism and Judaism, and the incompleteness and lack of unity evident in all religions whether Pagan or Hebrew, fully in mind, how clearly and marvelously does the resurrection of Christ stand forth as the one event in time capable of reconciling the world's thought. By unifying the Old Testament revelations and completing Israel's hope, the resurrection gave to the world at large a religion fitted to become universal. At the same time that it gathered the seemingly discordant truths revealed to Israel into one beautiful whole, it gathered into one also all the truths emphasized by the various religions of the Gentile world, and joined them inseparably with the "truth of God" as given to Israel. And in this great revelation of the unity of truth, it also became apparent that the fundamental age-long difference between Paganism and Judaism had also disappeared. The risen Christ was crowned with all authority in heaven and in earth, and

(19) "The Gospel of the Resurrection", p. 209.

such exaltation of humanity not only embraced but passed far beyond the Gentile world's emphasis of man's freedom and dignity. But the Christ thus crowned had previously rendered an obedience to the law of God so perfect that not one jot or title was lost from Judiasm's claim that Jehovah was the supreme ruler of all that is. In the light of the resurrection both man and God appeared in their true place and proper relationship, and the religious thought of the world was reconciled and unified.

IV. IT BECAME THE FOUNTAIN OF AFTER HISTORY.

If what has above been claimed for the resurrection of our Lord be at all true, then Christ's triumph over the tomb must of necessity have become an important center in the world's history. And only a brief consideration of Christianity's progress during the centuries, and of its present influence in the world, is needed to show that the resurrection was indeed the very fountain whence has flowed the mightiest stream in the history of the planet.

Christianity was dropped into the world like grains of mustard seed into the earth. Its growth may seem to have been slow, but it has grown. At the close of the first century the number of Christians in the world was about 500,000. Three centuries later the number had increased to 10,000,000. The close of the eighth century found 30,000,000 professing loyalty to the risen Lord, and the end of the first one thousand years 50,000,000. In another five hundred years this number had doubled. Since the beginning of the sixteenth century the growth has been far more rapid, and today there are probably at least 530,000,000 people in the world who gladly bear the name of Christ. That is, today one out of every three persons in the world is a Christian.

The influence in the world at large of this constantly growing body of Christians has been and now is far greater, however, than is to be gathered from any process of "counting noses". There inheres in the teachings of Christ a matchless

power to uplift. Wherever goes faith in Him as Savior and obedience to Him as Lord, there goes at the same time marked progress and development. Spiritual enlightenment increases intellectual vigor. As thought is clarified with respect to the spiritual, it becomes clearer also concerning the material. Individual pre-eminence leads inevitably to national pre-eminence. More vigorous and clearer thinking by individuals lifts the multitudes to a higher grade of civilization, and higher civilization brings increased world-influence. And so it has come to pass that today the nations most eminently Christian are the nations most eminently influential in the world's affairs.

Also this same spiritual life principle which has given the Christian nations pre-eminence as world powers by virtue of the higher type of civilization it has developed within them, has, within the last one hundred and fifty years, begun to work among almost all the nations of the earth. The church has been reaching out in an endeavor to bring all men unto Christ. The secret of the progress of the great Christian nations is being made evident to the various peoples of the earth in their own homes. Godly men and women are daily living before them lives that testify in unmistakable ways to the mighty power of Christ to save and to keep and to uplift. The lives of the missionaries are making their message understood and its power felt. Under the most unfavorable conditions the world affords, the gospel is demonstrating itself to be "the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth."

The combined effect of the prestige of Christian nations and the work of the missionaries has been prodigious. Besides the thousands in Asia, Africa and the islands of the sea who have heartily accepted the truth as it is in Jesus, there are tens of thousands in whose souls the conviction has become inseparably rooted that the ways of their fathers were not altogether right. A world-wide dissatisfaction is arising, a Gospel-produced restlessness. The people of the whole earth are beginning to make inventory of their stock religiously, and are finding themselves much poorer than they thought. In sheer compulsion they are lifting their eyes to Christianity as the greatest of friends or foes. It cannot yet be safely said, perhaps, that the world rec-

ognizes the religion of the cross as God's greatest gift to men, but it can with entire safety be asserted that the world has already recognized Christianity as the mightiest force discernible in all the events of time. And he who rejoices in the cross, thus already "towering o'er the wrecks of time", doubts not that its exaltation will continue increasingly until the One who was lifted up upon it has indeed drawn all men unto Himself.

But would Christianity ever have been if Christ had not risen from the dead? Of course, the resurrection is not all of Christianity. Christ is Christianity, but not any one thing that Christ did. On the other hand, some things that Christ did are essential parts of Him, if one may so speak. Where would the Christ of the New Testament and of the church of the ages be apart from His death? or apart from His resurrection? Whoever accepts the New Testament teaching must regard the resurrection as vitally related at many points to the individual Christian life. And if it is vital to the individual Christian life, it is, of course, equally so to the life of the church in its broadest sense. Christianity, at least such as we have it today—and it is of the Christianity of today we are speaking—never could have been if the resurrection had not occurred.

But there is still another reason, and perhaps, a better one, for characterizing the resurrection of our Lord as the fountain of after history. It is not only essential to Christian life, but it has in reality more than any other one thing in the Christian system been the source and stay of the church's activity. Without it the church would have been still-born. At Christ's death hope forsook utterly the hearts of His followers, and its return was impossible save through the empty grave. With His resurrection, hope, with clearer vision and greater strength than were ever hers before, came back to their hearts to abide forever. It was the "power of his resurrection" that established the church. It is the "power of his resurrection" that has given Christianity to the world. It is far more than a fanciful figure of speech to say that the resurrection of our Lord was the very fountain whence has come the world's history until now. It is to state a great truth the proof of which is becoming more manifest with every passing year.

THE VALUE OF CHRIST'S DEATH.

BY A. E. THOMAS, D.D., BEREA, KY.

I. It is comparatively easy to outline the value of the life of Jesus. Though none can measure that value, it is possible to state the lines along which it lies.

A quite different task confronts us when we attempt to outline the value of His death. Had we no revelation on the subject we would mark the boundaries of that value by what we can see of its effect on human life and character. There are many who do actually affirm that such are its limitations. There are, however, many statements in the Bible concerning the death of the Son of God which seem to give it a value and significance far beyond what man would of himself have surmised.

Some say that the value of Christ's death lay in its expression of God's love, and its power to bring men to repentance. We may readily grant to such all that they claim as to positive operation remembering that it is written, "God commendeth His own love toward us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us", and that Jesus said, "I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto myself," and we shall yet maintain that we cannot give credit to the Biblical statements of the divine intention in the death of Jesus and stop with that moral influence explanation. Besides, a death has nothing in itself which necessarily shows love. The attendant circumstances must give it that significance. If a father sees his family suffering, is unable to provide for them, and kills himself, it shows not love but cowardice. If a father sees his child about to be crushed by a car, knows that he can only save his child's life by the sacrifice of his own, and does it, that shows love. If, of a father's ten sons, nine were disobedient, the giving the one obedient son to die merely in order to bring

the others to repentance would not be likely to convince the disobedient ones of their father's love but of his folly, and they would be more likely to conclude that obedience did not particularly endear a son to him, though peculiar circumstances might have required him to hold them off till they repented, and therefore in their loss of confidence they would be likely to conclude that his commands had no particular binding power on themselves. For God to have merely given His Son to die that He might induce us to repent, when there was nothing in the nature of the case calling for such a sacrifice other than the hope that such a death would show God's love and incline us to repentance, would have been equivalent to saying that He held us disobedient mortals of more value than His Son, and wanted to show it, which would have properly led us to doubt his divinity. On *a priori* ground before taking up the Biblical statements, having been assured that God gave His Son to die for us in our sins, we could conclude that there was something in our case which made salvation impossible, no matter what we might do, however sincerely we might repent, and however sincerely God might desire to accept that repentance, and that God gave His Son to solve that difficulty, remove that obstacle, open that door. Then, naturally His gift of His Son would show His love and furnish a mighty motive for repentance. We are therefore led to look farther than merely to God's desire that men should repent in order to find the full necessity for the death of Jesus.

II. An important fact appears in the Biblical statements, viz., that sin's offense against the moral order of the universe is such that a penitent sinner cannot be forgiven but for the death of Jesus Christ. This fact at once, and naturally, arouses opposition in the unregenerate human heart. Men do not like it. It is too humiliating. It makes man's sin something very great and awful, and thus is exceedingly displeasing to the natural man. It makes man of less importance in the universe than he likes to think himself. Men are fond of thinking that they are so valuable to God that he will gladly accept and forgive them on the mere condition of their repent-

ing.[1] Hence, when told that they cannot be forgiven except by virtue of the atoning work of God's only Son, they are disposed to rebel against the unpleasant statement. It is "the offense of the cross". But that the forgiveness of the penitent sinner depends absolutely on something wrought by Jesus in His death constantly appears in the Bible. Thus Peter, by the authority of the Holy Spirit, said to the rulers in Jerusalem of Jesus, "And in none other is there salvation: for neither is there any other name under heaven, that is given among men, wherein we must be saved" (Acts 4:12). Had he meant "which can induce us to repent", he would have said so. A man does not repent in any one's name but his own. He, the sinner, repents of his, the sinner's, sin. If salvation is to be in the name of Jesus, there must be some necessary work which Jesus has wrought, on which the penitent soul must rest. Let us see if this need of Christ's death is real.

III. From the Nature of God and of His Government.

We can no more fully comprehend all the mysteries of God's moral government than we can the laws which He has given for the ordering of His material universe. Man is never guilty of more sublime folly than when he criticises the conduct and ways of God. We may not be able fully to understand why He does a certain thing. It is altogether likely that we shall never be able to fully comprehend the reasons for some of His acts. Those reasons involve the entire universe and all the coming eternities, and can be fully understood only by an infinite mind. Yet, as He has made us in His image, morally depraved though we are, there are certain rules and principles on which we may be sure that His actions will be based, since they are the principles of evangelizing righteousness, though we must al-

(1) Many well meaning but mistaken Christian workers are fond of appealing to the impenitent to return to God on the ground that "God needs you". This can never be true. God could do all His work without us, and graciously gives us the privilege of associating with Him in it. God existed eternal ages before He created man, and must have been perfectly happy, or He could not have been infinite. While we know that the sin of man causes sorrow in the heart of God, yet it is false to say that He needs man to make His happiness complete. Otherwise the loss of the reprobate would make His happiness incomplete through all the coming eternities.

ways admit that it is quite likely that in particular details we may not know how infinite love, wisdom and justice will apply these principles.

That God is a moral ruler all must admit. There are certain principles which all good governments must follow, and which, since God is infinitely righteous, we know that He will follow. One of these principles is that law must regard the largest interests and the welfare of the greatest number of individuals. The greater must not be sacrificed for the less. If there were but a single person under law, and he broke that law and repented, his would be a unique case. No one else, under law, would be affected by his treatment. He could be dealt with alone. If there is a multitude under the same law it at once becomes apparent that this single sinner can no longer be treated as though he were the only finite being in the universe, or even the only sinner in the universe, but his treatment must take into account its effect on all the rest. This principle must be binding on God as well on any earthly ruler. If therefore pardon of a sinner merely on condition of his repentance would work injury to others greater than the good done to him, and especially if it would undermine the moral government itself and thus work irreparable injury to multitudes, it is at once evident that pardon merely on condition of repentance could not be at all allowed.

IV. The Purpose of Punishment.

There are two proper purposes in punishment, when rightly administered, though both are not always to be found in operation in every instance. These two purposes are the reformation of the offender and the prevention of the same or similar acts of disobedience on the part of others. In the punishment of minor offenses the former purpose is uppermost, and in that of major offenses the latter. Thus, when a man is fined five dollars and costs in the police court, the chief thought is the reform of the offender, the prvention of a repetition of the offense on his part. The public is little thought of. The culprit may put his hand in his pocket and pay the fine, and the public be none the wiser, save as a few may read the records

of the court. When the man is sent to the penitentiary for five years, his reformation is still desired, but the purpose is prominent to make such an impression on others of the wrong of the offense and the certainty of punishment as will prevent the evil from spreading. When a man is sent to the penitentiary for twenty-five years, his reclamation is almost lost to view. It is desired, but the chief thought is the warning thus given to other possible offenders in the same line. When capital punishment is to be inflicted, the first purpose is wholly abandoned; "We do not hang a man to reform him", and the second purpose stands alone. This is a necessary principle in good government, hence we may know that it will be followed in God's moral government. His providences, visiting temporal pains and punishments on the lawless soul may be likened to the lighter penalties mentioned above, in which the reclamation of the offender is most desired, and the doom of the incorrigible sinner is like our capital punishment. God will not cast a soul into the lake of fire to reform it.

V. The Consequent Necessity of the Higher Forms of Punishment.

It is now easily evident that, since reasons and purposes underlie punishment, while so far as he is concerned a penitent law-breaker might be pardoned simply in view of his repentance, the interests of the community on which an impression is to be made by the punishment of the offender must be considered. Some time since a man who was serving a term in a penitentiary for bank wrecking wrote to me to ask that I intercede for him with the State Board of Pardons. I wrote the board that, from my interviews with the man, I was convinced that he was sincerely penitent, and that further punishment would have no further value for him, but I was compelled to add that another side was to be considered, viz., the effect on the community where his crime had been committed of his being released before his full term had expired. I declined to express an opinion as to that. Every one can easily see that to forgive an offender merely on the ground of his penitence would render all law worthless. Any man, wishing to kill his

neighbor or burn his buildings, would say, "I will do this thing, and, if I am found out and convicted, I will repent." Though in every case where the culprit did not repent, the law was fully enforced upon him, the deterrent force for the prevention of law-breaking would be *nil,* for men would not believe, in advance of committing the crime, that they would not afterward repent. To lead a law-abiding life afterward, if this present sin may be committed, seems to the tempted soul an easy thing. To forgive merely on the ground of the repentance of the sinner would be an unjust thing both to those who have not sinned and to him who has. To the former, because their obedience becomes, governmentally speaking, unprofitable, and to the latter, for if he is set free the way is easy to sin again, because he will think that he can repent again. It is also unjust to those who have not yet come under the temptation to break the law, for when such temptation comes, the opposing motives should be as weighty as possible, but by such a course those motives are awfully weakened. This injustice comes because sin is unutterably harmful to the sinner quite irrespective of the governmental dealings with him.

VI. The Necessity for a Substitute.

It is, therefore, evident that what Mr. Finney used to call "public justice", the welfare of the community, demands that if a penitent law-breaker is to be freed from the punishment due him, something must be provided which will produce on the community at least as great an impression of the iniquity, in the sight of the government, of that offense of which he is guilty and of the certainty of the enforcement of the law as would have been produced by his punishment. It goes without saying that God is under infinite obligation to prevent anarchy, and to keep good order in the universe which He has created, and good order cannot be had unless law is enforced. Some seem to think that the analogy will not hold when we consider God's moral government. They think that God's infinity makes Him able to do what man cannot do in the line of remitting punishment. But the difficulty with that position is that while God is infinite, He is dealing with precisely

the same beings which come under the authority of a human government. God must not force men to obedience, since that destroys the value of the obedience. He must deal with men on the plane of motive, and if He takes away one needed motive He must replace it with another of equal value, which is exactly our whole argument. God made man to act on motive. He then applied to man the motives furnished by certain enforcement of righteous law. If He makes an exception to that law enforcement, He must provide in some other way for the motive which has been removed, or confess that the motive was a needless one from the beginning, or open the door to anarchy.

VII. The Biblical Statements.

We find God declaring in His written word that He is bound by just this obligation which has been discussed, and that He provided against wrong-doing on His part and encouragement to lawlessness on our part in the forgiveness of a penitent sinner through the death of Jesus. (See Romans 3:25, 26.) "Whom God set forth to be a propitiation, through faith, in his blood, to show his righteousness because of the passing over of the sins done aforetime, in the forbearance of God; for the showing, I say, of his righteousness at this present season; that he might himself be just, and the justifier of him that hath faith in Jesus." This is a court matter. We are here admitted to the court room of the universe. The question under discussion is: "Can the Judge fairly, as regards all interests involved, and so righteously, pass over the sins which have been committed, merely on the condition of our repentance?" The answer is "No". "Apart from the shedding of blood, there is no remission." The shedding of blood means the giving of life. To have taken part of the blood of a victim offered on the altar would not have sufficed. "For the life of the flesh is in the blood; and I have given it to you upon the altar to make an atonement for your souls: for it is the blood that maketh atonement by reason of the life". (Rev. 17:11). The fact therefore is that wholly apart from the question whether men would repent had not Christ died, the sin, repented of and confessed, could not be forgiven had not Christ

died. The same fact is shown in 1 John 1:7, "But if we walk in the light, as He is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ His Son cleanseth us from all sin." Here the work of cleansing the soul from sin is an entirely different thing from leading the soul to repentance, for it is the one already clearly penitent, choosing to walk in the light as God is in the light, who has his sins forgiven by virtue of the blood, i.e., the death of the Son of God. The same truth is found in the very idea of redemption through the blood of Christ. See Eph. 1:7, "In whom we have our redemption through His blood". The redemption is said to be wrought through Christ's blood, and is the same as the forgiveness of our trespasses. This is quite a different thing from leading a man to repent of his trespasses. It is evident that after he has repented, he has forgiveness because in some way Christ's death stands as the purchase price of that forgiveness, the redemption of his soul. See Rom. 3:24, "Being justified freely by His grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus". "Justified" is not repentance, but the judicial act by which the sinner is permitted to be treated as though just. This justification comes, we are here told, through the "redemption that is in Christ Jesus". But that redemption, we learned from Eph. 1:7, is "through His blood". Therefore Christ's death, however it may avail as a motive for repentance, and that is certainly not to be minimized, is also in some way necessary as a condition of divine forgiveness being granted to the penitent sinner.

See again Isa. 53:6, last clause: "And Jehovah hath laid on Him the iniquity of us all." The only reasonable inference is that all our iniquity was laid on Christ. But, in order to lead a sinner to repentance, it is not necessary that another bear the entire weight. I have known of a young man who had gone far in sin, and was led to repentance by awaking to the fact that he was breaking his godly father's heart. No one would say that all his sin against God and man was laid on or was borne by his father. His father was unable to know fully the depth of his son's sin against God. Yet the sight of his

father's sorrow led the son to repentance. Something deeper than that must be intended by the passage under consideration.[2]

VIII. Propitiation.

Another class of statements in the Bible present Christ as a propitiation for our sins. What does "propitiation" mean? The verb, *hilaskomai*, means to appease, to soothe, to offer an appeasing or expiatory sacrifice. The publican prayed, "May God be appeased to (in view of) me, a sinner" (Luke 18:13). In Heb. 2:17 we read, "Wherefore it behooved him in all things to be made like unto his brethren, that he might become a merciful and faithful high priest in things pertaining to God, to make propitiation (an expiatory offering) for the sins of the people." These are the only cases in the New Testament where the verb is used. In the first we have the publican, penitent, asking that in some way God might have mercy on him. There was no question as to his repentance; the only question was whether for a penitent sinner pardon could be found. In the second passage we have Jesus undergoing preparation to do the same thing for the people which the publican wanted done for himself. The verb must have substantially the same meaning in both cases, and that meaning is the regular one, to make some provision by which from a justly offended God a repentant sinner might obtain pardon. Two derivatives from the verb are used, each twice, in the New Testament. One is *hilasterion*, which in the Septuagint is used to translate the Hebrew word which in our English version is rendered mercy-seat, and is used in the same manner in Heb. 9:5, "overshadowing the mercy-seat", which, the context shows, is undoubtedly the proper rendering. The mercy-seat, in the Mosaic tabernacle, had no significance as inducing men to repent. It was the place where God would be found gracious, and ready to accept the penitence of his people. The other case where this

(2) If any one questions the application of this passage to Jesus, it is enough to recall the fact that Philip, so under the control of the Spirit that he was, a little later, caught away bodily, preached Jesus to Candace's officer from vs. 7, 8 of this chapter. See Acts 8:32-35.

word is used, Rom. 3:25, will be considered later. The other derivative, *hilasmos,* is used in 1 John 2:2, "and He is the propitiation for our sins", and 4:10, "Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that He loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins." From what we have already seen of the meaning of "propitiation", it is evident that in these passages the attention is not at all called to the work of inducing repentance on the part of the sinner, but the work of providing pardon for the penitent sinner. Propitiation looks not at all toward the sinner, but toward deity, to make pardon possible. The last case to be considered is Rom. 3:25, 26, "Whom God set forth to be a propitiation (*hilasterion*), through faith in his blood, to show his righteousness because of the passing over of the sins done aforetime, in the forbearance of God; for the showing, I say, of his righteousness at this present season: that he might Himself be just, and the justifier of him that hath faith in Jesus." It is thus evident, even without a further study than of the meaning of "propitiation", that the thing intended here is the impossibility of God's making His righteousness seen and believed by the on-looking universe if He passed over the sins done aforetime, though the sinner might be penitent, and though God might be willing to exercise forbearance, save as the crucified Son of God should be seen and believed on by that penitent soul, and the consequent necessity of the death of Christ, because that and that alone could enable God to do what we needed and He desired without a shock to the moral universe. The heathen notion has always been that when a deity is offended by human action it is necessary to make an offering to him in the shape of a sacrifice, or of one's own suffering or hardship, which may soothe the deity and induce him to lay aside his anger. This idea was involved in the Mosaic code, but in this way, that the demand for holiness in that code was intended to make it evident that ordinary sacrifices, such as man could make, were inadequate to make a proper atonement for sin, and as a means of propitiating a properly offended deity were entirely insufficient. Not that God's righteous indignation against a sin could ever, by any

sacrifice, be appeased, that He could be bribed to lay it aside, but that sin could not under any circumstances be pardoned by God on such a basis as sacrifices made by man. "For it is impossible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sins" (Heb. 10:4). "So that the law is become our tutor to bring us to Christ, that we might be justified by faith" (Gal. 3:24). We are not now discussing the need of this propitiation, but noting the Biblical statements of the fact. It is evident that man had nothing wherewith to make a propitiatory sacrifice. His present duty, each moment, demanded all his powers. There was never a surplus, and could not be, to make a propitiation in view of "sins done aforetime". Now we find God Himself making this propitiation, not to soothe His own anger, for an angry God would not do that, but to make it possible to do in justice what we needed to have done, and what He wanted to do, and at the same time to show His righteousness, show that He was righteous because He had taken the necessary steps to make it just and fair to forgive the sins of the sinner who believed on Jesus. What a picture of human sin and divine love! A perfect moral order, and we had broken it. Led by grace we have repented, yet God cannot rightly forgive. We cannot give, do, sacrifice anything which will make it just for God to forgive us. God Himself makes the sacrifice.

IX. Illustration.

It is not possible fully to illustrate God's great and gracious methods by any analogies from human ways. Still, they may serve to direct our thoughts and our gaze along the road on which the whole truth lies. Let us suppose that a man has been guilty of murder, and has been sentenced to death. He is sincerely, heartily penitent, not merely in view of the punishment which he would gladly escape, but in view of the sin, for which he finds no excuse, and for which he condemns himself. The government, possessed of no desire for vengeance, but concerned in upholding public order, would gladly pardon him, if a way could be found to prevent the salutary law from being undermined in the estimation of others. If now an entirely innocent, law-abiding citizen, against whom there is and can

be no charge, of proved and tried loyalty, shall offer himself to die in the culprit's stead; if the culprit shall openly acknowledge that he goes free not from any merit of his own, or from any plea which can be made in extenuation of his guilt, but wholly because a righteous man has taken his place and borne his iniquity, and if he shall solemnly covenant to lead a law-biding life henceforth, the government may safely pardon him. Others are not likely to take liberties with the law in such a case. Suppose, instead of one criminal, that there are ten. If it would have been difficult to find one righteous man to die for the one criminal, it will be vastly more difficult to find ten. If, however, the only son of the governor of the state, himself being approved in the eyes of all as a wholly law-abiding citizen, shall offer to die for them, his prominence will make the expiatory value of his death greater than that of the death of one, and might avail for the ten criminals, on the same conditions as those stated above. Again, if there were twenty-five criminals instead of ten or one, the voluntary death of the only son of the president of the United States might avail for their pardon, always on the same conditions, open acknowledgment of being saved because of the expiatory death and open avowal of full intention to lead a law-abiding life henceforth.

Now the case comes to a world of criminals, whose crime is treason against the holy government of God, and whose doom is eternal death. There is but one in the universe of sufficient prominence to make atonement for their sin, the spotless Son of God. His death can do it. He took our place, not by His bodily death on the cross alone. That was a sign of something greater. We read (Heb. 2.9), "But we behold Him who hath been made a little lower than the angels, even Jesus, because of the suffering of death crowned with glory and honor, that by the grace of God He should taste of death for every man". He did not merely taste bodily death, but drank the full cup. In the moment, however, when He cried, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" He tasted eternal death for every man, and became "the propitiation for our sins; and

not for ours only, but also for the whole world." His prominence and value in the universe are such that His tasting eternal death was sufficient to accomplish for all mankind what we have supposed the actual death of the righteous man accomplishing for the condemned murderer. No finite being, though an archangel, could make expiation for the sins of a soul doomed to eternal death without incurring the full penalty, eternal death, himself. Infinite justice could not allow this. The soul saved would be saved to an eternity of sorrow and anguish in view of the price by which he had been saved. The prominence of the Son of God, His perfect holiness, His infinite hatred of sin, His infinite sorrow in view of man's condition, His infinite love for the Father, made it possible that His temporary exile from His Father's throne, His humiliation among men, His agony in Gethsemane, His death on the cross, and above all, His tasting the bitterness of eternal death, of which His bodily death was a sign, made it possible for Him, without His endlessly bearing the sinner's doom, yet to make a greater impression upon the on-looking universe of the awfulness of sin and the certainty of enforcement of law than if sinners had suffered the proper punishment themselves. The universe of obedient finite beings is richer in appreciation of the weight of moral obligation for the suffering of the Son of God than it would have been if all sinners had suffered. If any should take liberties with this atoning work, they must bear the penalty of their own sin, for God has not another Son to die, and Jesus must not be made to suffer twice. But there is not the millionth part of the danger that such an atoning work will be trifled with that there would have been without it of reckless disregard of all law had the just doom of sinners been carried out. Now, the conditions of salvation are, reasonably, as given in the Bible, open acknowledgement that salvation comes only through the death of Christ, and wholehearted devotion to the law of God for all eternity.[3]

(3) We may note two classes of biblical statements which receive endorsement and explanation from this study of the atonement.

(a) Those of which Rom. 4:25 is an illustrtion. "Who was delivered up for our trespasses, and was raised for our justification."

X. God not a Slave to His Own Laws.

Some may say that God makes a sacrifice to meet the demands of a code of laws and a moral government of His own creating, and hence is a slave to His own machine. It is true that God has organized a moral government, and has promulgated a code of moral rules for our direction. But God did not make the distinction between right and wrong, nor the moral law of unselfish love. No one ever did. It lies back of God, logically, and is co-existent with God in time. God cannot break that moral law without sinning. Since He has brought us into being and given us a moral nature, He is under obligation to care for our highest interests. These interests cannot be conserved without a safe, solid, moral government. That government must not be shaken in order to forgive our sins. The important thing in the universe is not the pardon of our sins, but the moral order, making it possible for God to offer to His creatures the highest possibilities which they are capable of using and enjoying.[4]

Had Jesus not been raised from among the dead, manifestly, so that all might be sure of the fact, the sense of justice of every moral being would have been outraged by the thought of a sinner, however penitent, being saved at such a cost. Though Jesus had gone to be with the Father, we would not have known it, and men would have been utterly unable to believe in an atonement wrought out at such cost. The resurrection is not merely an endorsement of Christ's divinity, and so an establishment of our hope and faith, it is absolutely essential to all working value of the atonement.

(b) Such passages as Rom. 10:10, "For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness; and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation", receive an explanation from this study. Open confession would be a proper expression of love and gratitude on the part of each saved soul. But, as the murderer, saved by the death of the righteous man, could not properly be set free unless he were ready openly to acknowledge that he was saved by the death of another, and unless he were ready to promise unswerving obedience to the law thenceforth, and so do his part to prevent the moral order from being overthrown, so the redeemed soul must do his part in preserving the universal order. Open confession is necessary to prevent abuse of the scheme of salvation.

(4) The moral order exists for the welfare of the moral beings, not the reverse. As between the salvation of a sinner, however, or a world of sinners, and the moral order, the latter is the more important, because upon it depends the welfare of the moral universe.

That most important demand must not be disregarded in order to bring a seeming good to the individual, though it should be remembered that the highest good to the individual is wrapped up with the conservation of the moral order. We have a right, reverently, to say that there is as real and great an obligation resting on God to keep the moral government and law from being weakened by the forgiveness of our sins in an improper manner as upon us to obey the regulations which He, obedient to the demands of the moral law upon Himself, has, in infinite wisdom, formulated and made known to us. Moral beings must be moved by motives, and not even God Himself can prescribe the way in which motives shall operate without destroying the freedom of the will and so the moral agency of the soul. It is an absolute necessity that a moral government over beings disposed to sin, or in any danger of sinning, must do its work by means or sanctions, rewards for obedience and penalties for disobedience, without which the law is mere good counsel, and there is no true government. Where the deterrent effect of punishment is needed, not even God can leave moral beings in possession of their freedom of will, and at the same time let them see that on the mere condition of their repenting He will pardon their sin, and then expect to preserve obedience to His righteous law in the universe. To repeat what has been said before, even though the impenitent were duly punished, men desirous of sinning would do so with the definite expectation of repenting later. The argument for present sin seems weighty, and the prospect of future repentance and obedience sure. God knew, when He began creating moral beings, that the problem of sin would come, and, again reverently, we may say that He was bound, before beginning such creation, to ordain the atonement, and He did so. He is not a slave to His own laws, but in His infinite love He chose to create moral beings though knowing that the certain necessities of the case would require the death of His Son to enable Him rightly to pardon a penitent sinner.

Wherefore, the denial of the substitutionary value of the death of Christ, so common today, is not merely a denial of the

plain teaching of the word of God and a contravention of the established methods of administering government in all enlightened nations of the world, but it is as truly a denial of everlasting principles as it would be to deny the anxioms of mathematics. If a sinner is ever to be safely pardoned, it must be by virtue of the death of the Son of God.

THE SEVEN CHURCHES OF LONDON.

BY W. T. WHITLEY, M.A., LL.D., PRESTON, ENGLAND.

The Seven Churches of Asia seem to have exercised a fascination over readers of the Revelation, who were unusually important in the days of Charles I. By 1644, seven Particular Baptist churches in London had evolved from two Separatist churches, and the seven issued a joint confession in October. If at first the coincidence was accidental, it was soon remarked upon, and the churches accepted the hint, so that they began to speak of themselves as the Seven. Perhaps they retained the title even after it ceased to be quite accurate, just as we know that Asia really contained more than seven when John wrote. The title dropped into disuse during the period of persecution, when as a matter of fact the London churches associated with others in Hertfordshire and Berkshire. And when their confession of 1644 was superseded by another in 1677, the old phrase disappears altogether.

The story of these early churches deserves tracing with some care, because it illustrates how the Calvinistic Separatist churches gave rise to Calvinistic Baptist churches; how these distinguished themselves carefully from the previous General Baptist churches; how most of them took a strong stand for close communion, making baptism a previous condition; how they at length found themselves unable to insist on this, and went into fellowship with the great majority of Baptist churches in the land.

As sources for their story during their first half century, 1642-1692, we have: A: the papers of Henry Jessey, preserved by Adams and Stinton, relating to the period before 1644. B: the confession of October, 1644. C: the revision of this in 1646. D: the story of a church meeting in 1649 at the Glaziers' Hall in Broad Street; Ivimey I, 235. E: the correspondence of this

church with others in South Wales during 1650. F: "Heart-bleedings", reprinted by Underhill, 1650. G: another letter from Glaziers' Hall to Wales, preserved by Joshua Thomas and appended by Rippon to the last volume of his Register, page 8. H: a third edition of the Confession, whose signatures are reprinted by Underhill at page 26. I: the Hexham correspondence of 1652-1654, printed with the Fenstanton records, pages 303-351. J: a circular letter throughout Britain on 24 July, 1653, appended to Rippon. K: a letter to Cromwell in January, 1653-4, in Underhill at page 326, with a Fifth Monarchy manifesto in August, 1654, signed by many Baptists and printed in Milton's State Papers. L: another letter to him in April, 1657, in Underhill at page 338. This group of documents illustrates the period of flourishing. For the period of persecution we have fewer: M: a declaration in favor of order, on 12 December, 1659, at the Guildhall Library, 1859, page 59. N: a repudiation of Venner in 1660-1; from the list in Underhill at page 348 may be easily subtracted the General Baptists. O: the Broadmead correspondence of 1669-1678, with which may be grouped extracts from Kiffin's church book about the same time, a letter of 17 September, 1669 in Ivimey II., 433, five licenses to preach in 1672, and a record of marriage at Rippon III, 453. P: a letter of 1674 evoked by a debate, preserved by Crosby at II, 306. Q: a letter to Gifford in January, 1675-6, at Rippon, 1004. At the close of the period we have: R: a summons to a general assembly in London in 1690, Rippon III, 260. S: the attendance thereat, T: the attendance in 1692, are appended to Rippon. From these sources we get the names of more than 160 members of the London churches, which may be arranged alphabetically at the close of this paper, together with others gathered from literature such as the life of Jessey, 1671; the autobiographies of Knowles and Kiffin. There are also a few pamphlets issued earlier. Interesting light comes also from Watford, where about 1700 an aged disciple told how the members there had belonged to two or three London churches; and we discover that several Hertfordshire clergy were connected with them.

Besides these original sources, four familiar works are cited, which are written by Londoners: Crosby's History, 1736-1740; Rippon's Baptist Register, 1790-1803; Ivimey's History, 1811-1823; Wilson's History of the Dissenting Churches, 1808-1814. Some of these quote church books and other documents now inaccessible; otherwise Ivimey is to be read with great distrust. Urwick's Nonconformity in Herts has one or two facts of value, intermixed with Baptist fiction.

1. The senior church was founded by John Spilsbury, of Aldersgate, who, after earning his living by weighing hay, became a stocking-weaver, according to John Taylor. As early as 1633 he was "baptizing" on profession of belief, Samuel Eaton, the button-maker, being one of his chief supporters. There is nothing to show how much earlier he had adopted this custom. We are not entitled to say that he at this date had abandoned the usual pouring or the more recent sprinkling of water; that step was, however, taken by 1644 when he signed the Confession that stipulates for immersion only. And we are certain that baptism of any kind was not a pre-requisite to church membership; for not only did Kiffin differ from the church on this very ground, but as late as 1671 the church negotiated with Robert Browne, the ex-rector of Whitelady Aston, who was not baptized, and who ultimately settled at Plymouth, another open-fellowship church. (*See Broadmead Records,* 130; *History of George Street,* 74.)

About 1640 to 1645 the church met near the Coal Harbor in Wapping, as we learn from Watford; in 1646 Spilsbury published two treatises on God's Ordinance the Saint's Privilege, in which he was influenced by Benjamin Cox. His signature figures to nearly every document down to the repudiation of Venner.

In 1662 Crosby tells us (II. 172) of a meeting broken up by the soldiers at Shakespeare's Walk, Wapping; this name crops up often in Baptist literature, and it may indicate where the premier church was meeting at this time. Seven years later the bishop of London heard of two Baptist meetings in Wapping; one was in Artichoke Lane, where two hundred met in a

house specially built for them; while in Meeting-house Lane an old meeting-house had been doubled in size, and now accommodated three hundred; it was used by Baptists and Independents, but had no settled pastor. This latter place seems to fit the conditions of our church.

Spilsbury was certainly dead by 1670, when the church was seeking a successor. They found one in John Norcott, rector of Stanstead in Herts from 1656 till ejectment in 1662 (Urwick. pp. 552, 836), then member of Petty France. He was reported in the State papers on 1 July, 1670, as preaching at Old Gravel Lane, Tower Hamlets; and this remained the headquarters till 1730. When Norcott died on 24 March, 1675-6, Keach preached the funeral sermon, and we hear of the place as the regular meeting house.

The third pastor was Hercules Collins, who came from Petty France in 1677 (Ivimey III 301), and the ties between the two churches were drawn even closer in 1679-80.

By this time the Seven Churches, or what were left of them, had united in an association which ranged far afield, meeting at Abingdon in 1678 and 1681, Hemel Hempstead in 1678, 1679 and 1682, St. Alban's in 1680, London in 1679 and 1683 (Ivimey III 333). Next year persecution broke out afresh, Collins was thrown into Newgate and the building was closed; but he was released and worship was resumed in 1686. Since then the church's history is well known, at Prescot street and in Commercial street, which it quitted in 1909. It has long abandoned the mixed-communion basis, and is one of the strictest of the strict.

2. In 1639 a church was founded in Crutched Friars by two celebrated lay preachers—John Green, the hat-maker, who had left Lathrop's church in 1633, and John Spencer, the coachman or groom to a nobleman. This was presently joined by Paul Hobson, a tailor from Buckinghamshire. Green and Spencer were great propagandists, the former visiting Trinidad. On his return, we hear from Edwards that the church met in an alley off Coleman street. In 1644 and 1646, Hobson and Gower signed the Confession, but we are not quite certain

whether they headed an off-shoot from Green and Spencer, or whether it was the same organization. Hobson took a commission in the army, and this gave him the opportunity for wide preaching, till at Newcastle, in 1654, he and Gower had a quarrel with Tillam, another emissary from one of the Seven Churches, who had founded the church at Hexham. What happened to the London congregation after 1646 we cannot trace, though we may conjecture it to be the same which presently appears under Colonel D'Anvers, and it is conceivable that in 1653 either Tredwell or White belonged to it, while Joseph Sanson, who flourished 1650-1654, fits best here or in the next church.

3. In January 1641-2, two Baptist churches originated out of the 1616 church of Jacob, now presided over by Henry Jessey. One of these was headed in 1644 by Thomas Sheppard and Thomas Munday; two years later Sheppard had been replaced by George Tipping, from Spilsbury's church. In 1651 one of the original members, Thomas Waters, signed the Confession. Then our only clear trace is that Tipping was asked to supply the Watford church, but no date is given. If Tredwell or White, who signed the circular of 1653, did not belong to Hobson's church, one or the other may belong here; every other of the Seven Churches is accounted for then at that date.

4. The sister church of 1641-2 became one of the most famous, and after absorbing another of the Seven, is today represented by the flourishing church in Stoke Newington. In 1644 it was headed by Thomas Kilcop and John Webb, while another of its original members, Mark Lucar, was in that same year an original member of the First Baptist church at Newport, in Rhode Island. Two years later Webb was replaced by Benjamin Cox, the ex-rector of Sandford Peverel in Devon, reputed to be of the family of Richard Cox, Elizabeth's bishop of Ely. Featley had been criticising the Confession of 1644, so it was revised by Cox to meet his objections, as Prof. McGlothlin has shown; and an appendix was added by Cox to conciliate prejudices as to anarchic principles. There was another clergyman, Edward Harrison, who had been chaplain

to Colonel Harrison's regiment, but who in 1649 had become vicar of Kensworth in Hertfordshire. While still holding this living, he signed the Confession in 1651, and did not resign the vicarage till 1657 (Urwick, page 211). He cast in his lot with this church, perhaps through the influence of Norcott, but the date is uncertain. He acquired a house in Petty France, a district just outside the Moor Lake, close to Moor Fields, settled in the reign of Elizabeth by French refugees, whence its name, Petit France. This house he placed at the disposal of the church; in 1662 we have details from Crosby how it was sacked. Seven years later he was reported to the bishop as holding a conventicle here—the first certain sign that he was the pastor. In 1672 he placed it under the king's protection, but died next year, leaving a son Thomas, just turned six (Goadby, page 344). Two joint pastors succeeded him—William Collins and Nehemiah Cox, the son of Benjamin, but a disciple of Bunyan, Open-fellowship. Ivimey has twice misprinted the date, II 397 and III 331, on the first occasion adding a blunder of his own, but from II 405 we find it was really 21 September, 1675.

These men took the lead in a very important move during 1677. The conception of Seven Churches was no longer so important as it had been in millennarian days, and it seemed well for all churches to draw together, irrespective of mystic numbers or of civil boundaries. Moreover, the basis of strict fellowship seemed too narrow for practical purposes in those days of persecution. Outside London it had never been popular; Tombes and his pupils in the west country, Ewens and Hardcastle at Bristol, Cheare and Steed in Devon, Bunyan in Bedford, Bradford and Bridge in Norwich, were a phalanx of leaders not to be held at arms' length merely because they would not insist on baptism as a condition of fellowship; especially when in London there were churches imbued with the spirit of Canne and Jessey, like the great church at Pinners' Hall under Anthony Palmer and George Fownes. The problem was to devise some new basis of union. The Westminster Confession, drawn up by the English Puritans, had not only

been adopted by the Scotch Presbyterians, but had been taken as a model by the Congregationalists, who revised it for their own views in 1658. It seemed well to remodel it for Baptist purposes, so as to show the substantial unity of all Calvinists in doctrine until the dogma of the church was dealt with. By 26 August, 1677, such a revision was accomplished, it was read and considered by the Petty France church, and published at their order (Ivimey III 332, citing the church book). Nor did the matter rest here, for there is a tradition as to some general meeting endorsing it in that year. This may point either to the association already mentioned in connection with Spilsbury's church, to which Petty France sent delegates; or it may betoken a national assembly, such as the General Baptists had held annually for many years (Ivimey I 420).

In 1682 the building was forcibly closed, and not reopened till 1687. In June of 1689 Nehemiah Cox died, and Thomas Harrison, son of Edward, was called in at the age of 22 to assist Collins. In September an assembly of 105 Particular Baptist churches from all over the kingdom, both strict and mixed communion, met and endorsed the revision of the Westminster Confession.

It is important to notice three peculiarities in the Confession, thus formally adopted by what was destined to be the greater body of Baptists in Britain. As opposed to the earlier or General Baptists, not only was the Calvinism of the Westminster Confession retained, but the Presbyterian government common to the Scotch and at that time to the General Baptists was disowned in favor of congregational government, as appears in xxvi:7. As opposed to the Presbyterians, lay-preaching was upheld, under the jurisdiction of each church; xxvi:11. As opposed to the old Seven Churches and the Presbyterians, it was no longer explicitly stated that every member of a church must be baptized, xxvi:6, or that baptism is necessary before communion, xxx. And we cannot doubt that this last feature was intentional, to suit the views of a very large number of churches, who were not willing to absolutely exclude some few

members. For at the very outset of the assembly in 1689 it was laid down as the second plank in the platform of fellowship, "that in those things wherein one church differs from another church in their principles or practices, in point of communion, that we cannot, shall not, impose upon any particular church therein, etc".

5. Another great church, which at last joined the Petty France church, is connected with the name of William Kiffin. Its early history is rather tangled, and is here carefully reconstructed from the Jessey papers (edited last January for the Baptist Historical Society of England) and from Kiffin's autobiography. The earliest church book has long been lost, and an allusion by C. H. Pike to a case of church discipline in 1644 is a misprint for 1664, at which date the current records begin.

The church founded in 1616 by Henry Jacob had its attention turned to the subject of baptism by some members seceding in 1630 on the ground that they could not recognize as valid anything done by a parish minister. A second group took up the same ground, and on 12 September, 1633, ten members were dismissed to form a separate church. Their leaders were a writer named Henry Parker, Mark Lucar, who seems to be of a noble Greek family lately settled in London, and a hatmaker named John Green. Once free from the conservative influence of the clergyman at the head of the old church, this group was rapidly augmented, and amongst the new members were Thomas Sheppard, a leather dresser of St. Olare's in Bermondsey; Richard Blunt, and Samuel Eaton, a button-maker of St. Giles, without Cripplegate. Eaton urged that if they could not accept christening at the hands of a parish minister for their children, then the christening they themselves had received was nothing; he therefore went to John Spilsbury and was "rebaptized in Anabaptist fashion; and others followed his example". He got into repeated and various trouble with the High Commission, but though sent to Newgate, preached in jail, and even persuaded the jailor to let him out occasionally to preach. The church flourished so greatly that when he died in August, 1639, more than 200

people gave him a public funeral, scorning to use a parish church-yard or to ask help from a parish minister. In that same year Green left the church and began a new one in Crutched Friars, whence presently evolved the Second Baptist Church. Henry Parker was now beginning to devote himself to politics, in which he took an honorable share, and this left Mark Lucar as the most prominent man.

We know that Cyril Lucar, patriarch of Alexandria and then of Constantinople, had more than a tinge of Calvinistic learning, having been trained in the west. He had corresponded with George Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, 1610-1633, and in 1628 sent a valuable manuscript of the Greek Bible as a present to the king, in thanks for protection against the violence of the sultan. It seems natural to suppose that there was some family connection between Mark and Cyril, whose names both point to the city of Alexandria. And it is certain that as the question of baptism was being discussed in this church, the point would presently emerge that the Greeks always immerse, and that the Greek word *baptizo* means immerse, and never pour or sprinkle. By the year 1640 this point was being eagerly discussed, not only here but also in the old church, which itself had been transformed and divided. In January 1641-42 all who decided for immersion were baptized, though they belonged to different churches, and subdivision continued. This particular group lost Sheppard to the Third church, while Lucar emigrated to the colonies, as already mentioned.

The assembly of Divines had been busy from July to Octo- Kiffin, had joined Jessey's church, and had proved himself not only a capital man of business, but able to learn and to debate with trained university scholars. Tired of the conservatism and half-measures of Jessey, he quitted him about March or April 1644, being now 28 years old, and united with this church. It was an epoch for the church and for him.

The Assembly of Divines had been busy from July to October 1643 revising the XXXIX Articles; but on 20 August, 1644, decided to draw up an entirely new Confession of Faith.

The hint was not lost, and in October was published by the Calvanistic Baptists; the first Confession that challenged attention. It was signed on behalf of Seven Churches, and the first name to appear is that of William Kiffin. Small wonder that next year Ricraft acknowledged Kiffin as the "author and grand ringleader" of the Baptists; and this is justified by the fact that his signature appears to nearly every document from 1644 till 1692, the extent of the present study.

The great business interests of Kiffin took him away from London so often that he needed a colleague. Thomas Patient had been associated with him in the early days, but had since been in Ireland. Returning in 1666 he was ordained to the co-eldership, but was carried off by the plague within a few weeks. A successor was found in Daniel Dike, M.A., one of Cromwell's tryers, ejected from the rectory of Great Hadham in Hertfordshire, who assisted here from 1668 till 1688; with his connections it is not surprising that the church joined the wider association to which the Wapping congregation belonged. He is probably to be identified with the Daniel Dick who in 1672 took a license to preach in the house of David Jones at Bishopsgate, near St. Botolph's.

The statement has often been made that in 1675 the church of Jacob and Jessey merged into this; the date is certainly wrong, for that church had two pastors of its own after that date, and in 1678 was trying to obtain Thomas Hardcastle from Bristol. Nor is there anything in the church books to bear out the statement in any respect whatever.

The earliest church book has a few entries relating to our period which are of interest. In 1667 there was some reconstruction, and a new roll of members was formed, on which we find the names of people who had been connected with other churches, a sign of the bewildering changes in those kaleidoscopic days. A mask-maker named Batty seems to be the man imprisoned in 1634, who left Lathrop's church and joined Spilsbury's in 1638, who in 1646 disputed against Benjamin Cox. Sister Mary Knowles, who married Dix, may be akin to Hanserd Knowles. In March, 1667, there joined Thomas

Mabbatt, a schoolmaster living in Petty France near the north postern next the pump; elsewhere in the list figure To Mabbott, writer, and sister Mabbott, who changed their address and their church fellowship. Sisters Blunt, Sarah Collins, Sheppard, widow Drapes, widow Dupper and Hannah Stassmore, bear names well known in early Separatist history. About 1638 Brother Addams was recommended from Exeter, and on the same page is mentioned Richard Adams, an ex-clergyman from Mount Sorrel in Leicestershire, who after a brief pastorate at the General Baptist church of Dockhead or Shad Thames, south of the Thames, came here to succeed Dike. A new roll was then drawn up in 1690 with Kiffin and Adams as pastors.

The premises occupied by this church were in the same district from 1638 till 1871. A country property, work of the Hounds Ditch beyond the Bishop's Gate, laid out by Jasper Fisher, and magnificent enough for the Earl of Oxford to entertain Queen Elizabeth in, came into the hands of the Earl of Devonshire, so that it was known both as Fisher's Folly and as Devonshire House. As the needs of commerce caused the open spaces to be built over, the property ceased to be an eligible suburban residence. Devonshire House itself passed by degrees into the hands of the Society of Friends and is today their headquarters. The pleasure-grounds behind were formed into Devonshire Square, and here this church obtained a foothold about 1638 as the earliest extant deed testifies. Wilson states, alongside various errors, that a meeting-house was built in Devonshire Square about 1653, and this date is intrinsically probable, for Baptists were then at their zenith. It certainly was in use by 1666, for when the great fire destroyed the parish church, this was surveyed and requisitioned for the Establishment; "a convenient place, with two galleries, pews and seats" (Ivimey III, 313). Three years later, the church was reported to the bishop of London as meeting in Finsbury Court, against the Artillery Ground, where about 200 people usually assembled; while in 1672 the house of David Jones in Bishopsgate, near St. Botolph's, was licensed for Daniel Dick to preach in. When James issued his Declaration of Indul-

gence in 1687, the meeting-house was rebuilt and at the opening service there was singing, then a great novelty in Baptist circles. From that time onwards its story is well known, and the only curious point is that when in 1727 it had no pastor, while the Petty France church had both a pastor and an endowment, it technically dissolved, handing over the Devonshire Square premises to the Petty France church, which at once admitted all the members to its fellowship.

6. Another church appears in 1644 which was headed by Thomas Gunne and Thomas Mabbatt. Gunne three years earlier had been a member of the 1621 church, and was one of six arrested in Deadman's Place, Southwark, for worshiping there during the hours of parish service. In 1646 it had the same leaders, but then they both disappear, unless we are to identify Mabbatt with the "wrighter" of that name, who in 1666 was a member of Kiffin's church.

But in 1649 we find a very strong and influential church worshiping in the Glaziers' Hall on Broad Street, led by William Consett, Edward Drapes and Edward Roberts. It appears to be one of the Seven, and therefore by the process of exhaustion it must be the church of Gunne and Mabbatt. In 1651 the third edition of the confession was signed by Consett and Roberts with Richard Graves and others. In 1653 the circular letter to all Britain bore the signature of Robert Bowes, and the secretary was Peter Scutt, also of this church. While two or three of the Seven sent out home missionaries, this church was most prominent in the work of propaganda, dispatching many members to Wales and Ireland and Scotland. In 1660 the chief members left in London were Roberts with John Man and Z. Worth.

At this point a veil falls over its doings. We may possibly identify it with the Baptist meeting broken up in 1662 at the Glovers' Hall in Beech Lane, but after that we have no material even for conjecture, unless we hazard the guess that in 1674 and 1676 Joseph Morton, who is not assignable to any other known church, and who took strong strict communion ground, favoring Gifford at Bristol and evading friendly rela-

tions with Hardcastle, was the pastor of this church. Beyond that date we can only wonder whether John Harris took them on to Joiners' Hall, where an ancient church is discovered in 1689, as detailed below.

7. The last of the Seven Churches appears in 1644 with Edward Heath and Joseph Phelpes as leaders. They are never heard of before or after. But Hanserd Knowles, converted at Gainsborough by one of John Smith's disciples, had quitted Jessey's church on the score of baptism, and founded a church of his own in 1645, according to his autobiography. Next year his signature appears to the second edition of the Confession, along with that of Thomas Holmes; apparently his church absorbed or replaced that of Phelpes and Heath. The Holmes family was of sturdy Baptist fibre; Obadiah, of Rhode Island, went to Boston on propagandist work, where he was flogged in 1651 (Ivimey I. 207); Major Abraham founded a church at Leith by 1653, and signed another edition of the Confession; John was the first Baptist in Philadelphia, 1686.

In 1646 we hear from Edwards that Knowles and Jessey (whom he had baptized in 1645) were in a great meeting near Aldgate, but it is not clear that this was his own church, nor that it was his habitual place of meeting; on the contrary we hear that he at first preached in Great St. Helen's, and then in Finsbury Fields, where hundreds used to attend. The occasion of his presence at Aldgate was to anoint with oil a blind woman, in hopes that the prayer of faith would heal the sick; his autobiography assures us that this was his practice in other cases also. By 1652 he had a regular preaching place in Colman Street, a district long leavened by Puritan preachers such as Goodwin and Davenport; the Hexham correspondence shows that his church had sent out Tillam as evangelist, and that churches in Cheshire and Durham were found in his wake. If the church to any extent supported Tillam, it made no attempt to support Knowles, who earned his living as master of the free school in St. Mary Axe. This of course came to an end at the Restoration, and after Venner's rising he was thrown into Newgate, being freed only at the coronation. For the

next few years he lived a troubled life; twice he went to Lincolnshire, where he had held a living before the Civil Wars. In 1670 he was arrested when preaching in George Yard—off Lombard Street?—but was set free at the Old Bailey. Then came a severe illness from which he recovered after Kiffin and Powell anointed him with oil; but his wife died next year on 30 April, while he was actually holding service. With the Indulgence of 1672 he felt free to open a private school for a time, but on its revocation he emigrated for the second time and traveled in Holland and Germany. It is not clear whether Thomas Harrison who took out a license to preach at his own house near St.Botolph's in Bishopsgate, on the same day with Daniel Dike, was acting for this church. In 1650 a T. Harrison was a membeer of the sixth church; in 1654 Thomas was a member of this; about 1667 Thomas a tallow chandler was member of Kiffin's; Thomas, the son of Edward, was in petticoats now. The church apparently kept together, but under whose auspices is not clear. About 1680 we find Robert Steed helping him, a west country man who for twenty years had traveled about ministering to poor churches, as Wilson says in a MS. note to his own II, 571.

By 1689 we find that the church, still called George Yard, had obtained a lease of part of a large building on the Broken Wharf in Thames Street, adjoining the waterworks. Its premises were large enough to entertain the delegates of 105 churches, assembled for consultation on Particular Baptist affairs, who endorsed the Petty France revision of the Westminster Confession, reprinted in 1688. After his death in 1691, the church assembled in Bagin Court off Newgate till 1795, when they went to Curriers' Hall in Cripplegate, where Crosley, Skepp and Brine kept the Antinomian flag flying. The expiration of the lease in 1799 was almost a death-blow to the famous church.

This is the last of the Seven Churches; but by 1651, though Tillam prided himself even later on being a messenger from them, their confession had its title altered to say it was "of the several congregations or churches of Christ in London,

which are commonly (though unjustly) called Anabaptists". There are at least six more which deserve notice, besides two or three which merged or disappeared.

8. Colonel Henry D'Anvers, in 1649, challenged the ministers of Leicester in a pamphlet on Liberty of Conscience, and presently had the opportunity of ensuring it when he was made governor of Stafford. Under his shelter a large group of General Baptist churches flourished in that neighborhood in 1652 at Berryhill, Bridgnorth, Burton, Lichfield, Shugborough, Stafford and Walsall, with others in the shires of Derby, Leicester and Northampton. Four years later he seems to have been joined with Samuel Oates in ministering to a church at the Chequer without Aldgate (Ivimey III, 508). Hitherto therefore he was a General Baptist. But in 1673 he emerges into fuller light as author of a learned Treatise on Baptism, which excited such attention as to call forth a learned reply, whereupon he put out a second edition, corrected and endorsed by Particular Baptists only—De Laune, Dike, Forty, Gosnold, Kiffin and Knowles. This he followed up with a treatise on the "Laying on of Hands", tracing its early history and deciding that the principle was erroneous, that its introduction among Baptists was due to a sermon by Cornwell, an ex-clergyman, and that insisting on its practice as a term of communion was corrupt and vicious. This of course was a denial of a leading principle of the General Baptists. The controversy was cut short on his side by his being sent to the Tower for a few months, while seven learned men prepared their further replies. But we gather that he was ministering to a congregation near Aldgate.

In 1685 he promoted the invasion by the Duke of Monmouth, so on its failure he had to flee to Holland, where he died next year. The church in 1687 called Edward Man, who had been a member at Petty France, as early as 1675. In 1689 and 1692 it figures as meeting at Houndsditch.

Wilson surmises that this is one of the two weak churches which John Noble united in 1696, taking them to Tallow-chandlers' Hall on Dowgate Hill; the other perhaps being Du-

Veil's congregation from Grace church street. This had been previously ministered to by John Child, who for fear of persecution conformed, and afterwards in shame committed suicide on 13 October, 1684 (Ivimey II, 605). This united church moved in 1727 to Maidenhead Court, and dissolved in 1760.

It is of course possible that our second church, whose leaders all went into the army, and which is not traceable after 1646, is this eighth, since we know there were Seven about 1650; but we have no known thread of continuity.

9. About 1661 there was in East Smithfield a slightly exceptional church. Thomas Lamb, the great General Baptist leader, had a son Isaac, who was chaplain on the "Constant Warwick", a ship that deserted to Charles (Pepys 1, 163). When paid off he seems to have joined or gathered a church in this neighborhood, which may possibly be the meeting in Brick Lane, off Whitechapel, broken up in June, October and November of 1662, as narrated in "Behold a Cry". The only names given are William Caswell and Thomas Hull, which are otherwise unknown (Crosby II, 162). Lamb's church at some time before 1670 had an ex-vicar named Titus Oates, son of the great Samuel Oates, the General Baptist evangelist, friend and colleague of Thomas Lamb; but Titus in 1677 joined the Roman communion. These facts lead us to suppose that the church was originally General Baptist, and probably was one of forty which Featley knew in 1645, all General Baptists. A building was erected for Isaac Lamb in Virginia street, off Penington street, close to Old Gravel Lane; and the meetings here were often interrupted by the same posses that broke up Hercules Collins' meetings (Crosby III, 103).

In 1689 the church was represented at the Particular Baptist Assembly, but next year Lamb officiated at the ordination of Joseph Stennett, the Sabbatarian (Ivimey II, 450). He died in 1691, and about 1695 Titus Oates applied for readmission; he was put on probation for three years, during which he professed deep penitence, and was at length restored, and even allowed to preach. He had, however, to be silenced, and presently excluded for perjury. In 1704 the church joined

the New London Association, being still without a pastor; in 1709 we learn from D'Assigny that a glazier named Glover was the chief preacher; on 18 May, 1712, the church disbanded. Eight men and sixteen women joined the Paul's Alley Particular Baptist church; the premises were at once taken over by the General Baptist church of Lewis Douglas from Rupert Street in Goodman's Fields.

10. The Paul's Alley church throughout this period was Particular Baptist. It was gathered by John Gosnold, the Master of the Charter House, and its records say in 1729 that a member who died then, aged 96, had belonged to it for 76 years; this shows that it existed in 1653 (Ivimey IV, 199). When he was ejected he found convenient premises in an old music house on Gun Alley in Little Moorfields, where the bishop knew of him in 1669. It is better known as Paul's Alley in the Barbican, where he ministered till his death on 3 October, 1678. Thomas Plant succeeded him, living till 1693, when Joseph Stennett and James Pitman held the church together. Two years later Richard Allen brought from Turner's Hall a secession from the General Baptist church in White's Alley. In 1700 Joseph Stennett was thanked for his past services, and invited to discontinue them, on the ground that he preached Calvinism. The after history of this church, remarkable as it is, evidently no longer finds a place here; it may be followed in its own records, or in the minutes of the General Assembly of General Baptists from 1738.

11. Lawrence Wise, vicar of Chatham Dock, was ejected under Charles, and subsequently became Baptist. Finding his way to London, he gathered or found a congregation to which he ministered in East Smithfield, which seems to have been a district extremely congenial to Baptists. Here he became so important that when Charles was maturing his plans which issued in the Declaration of Indulgence, he is supposed to have been consulted (Crosby III, 32). In 1676 he was associated with other Particular Baptist leaders in the letter to Gifford. In 1682 he was imprisoned. It is remarkable that he did not appear at either assembly of 1689 or 1692, nor can we trace

his church there. Calamy says that he died in 1692, aged 70; possibly that date is too late, and the church had disappeared in 1689.

12. Since we have dealt with Spilsbury's church, long Mixed-Communion, but evolving into Strict Communion, we may note that the Mother Church of Jacob, founded 1616, took the same step in this period. When Jessey died in 1663 it still was of the Tombes-Bunyan type, and it was reinforced by two ejected clergy, John Abbot of Fishborne, and Thomas Hardcastle of Bramham. But ten years later Bunyan's church expostulated on its change of basis (Ivimey II, 66) and the Broadmead correspondence shows us by 1674 that it was presided over by James Fitten, helped by Henry Forty till he went to Abingdon in 1676. Fitten was followed by another, not named; and in 1678 we lose all trace of it. Two of its recent members appear in 1689 as members of other London churches, Crabb with Adams in the Shad Thames church, wrenched for a moment from its associates, Dawson with Keach in the Horsleydown church. Apparently it gave up its separate existence between 1678 and 1689.

South of the river there was only one church in these early days of any permanence. True that Thomas Wilcox, even before 1665, assembled a congregation in his own house at Cannon street, and afterwards gathered them at the Three Cranes; but he died in 1687, and if Wilson is right in supposing that Warburton carried on the work between 1695 and 1708, he says it collapsed soon, though the building stood in 1733. True also that there was another church at Horsleydown, of which James Jones was pastor, who took out a license in 1672; but the Watford records tell that it broke to pieces in 1675. The fact is that there was serious trouble then among the Baptists of Southwark. One General Baptist church had existed there from 1625, on Featley's testimony; this is probably the Shad Thames or Dockhead or Fair Street church. In 1652 William Rider had drawn some off, insisting on the laying on of hands; this church in 1668 called a young tailor from Winslow, Benjamin Keach by name. On 22 April, 1672, Keach married a

second wife, Hanserd Knowles officiating. It was certainly under the influence of Knowles that he changed his views and became a Calvinist; probably the time was about 1672.

13. Thus arose the famous Particular Baptist church of Horsleydown. A building was soon erected at the corner of Goat street, and the Watford records show that his church absorbed part of Jones' church. When 1689 permitted open work, we find that there was a strong church, whence Keach founded Limehouse (extinct 1774), planting Leonard Harrison, and Rotherhithe, planting there George Barrett, besides others further afield. But his irresistible desires to bring over the General Baptists to Particular views created constant troubles, and his advocacy of singing created others; all of which fortunately lie beyond our immediate period.

We have thus accounted for all the Particular Baptist churches in London which survived till 1692. Ivimey has reprinted at I 515, from the proceedings of Assembly in 1691, the list of associations. The churches in Hertfordshire which were so closely linked with London fifteen years earlier had now linked with a few in Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire. Abingdon had plucked up courage again and revived the old association of 1652. The London churches had therefore attracted into their fellowship some in Middlesex, Kent and Essex; on all of them a word of comment may be useful.

Essex showed only a single church, at Hatfield Heath, five miles northeast of Harlow. But the assemblies of 1689 and 1692 show two churches, at Hatfield Broad Oak and at Harlow. On the other side of the county Colchester grouped with five others in or near Norfolk and Suffolk. The numerous Baptist churches in Essex then were mostly General.

Kent showed only one church, at Sandwich; the General Baptists outnumbered all other dissenters in the county.

Middlesex had a feeble little cause whose location was so uncertain that it was entered in 1689 as Culman Green, in 1691 as Turnham Green, and then was dropped. Across the river in Surrey was Richmond, grouped also in this association. And away to the north, at the once royal park of Theobalds,

was Colonel Henry Packer, who protected the church at Cheshunt under Joseph Maisters, till he removed to Joiners' Hall in 1692.

Of the London churches, we recognize at once our First church in Wapping, our Fourth in Moorfields, our Fifth in Devonshire Square, our Seventh as George Yard, our Eighth as Houndsditch, our Ninth as Virginia Street, our Thirteenth as Horsleydown. Limehouse and Mayes Pond we know to have arisen out of Horsleydown at this time. Winchester House was presently disowned as a disorderly assemblage of people excommunicated from other churches. There remain two for examination: Joiners' Hall and Mile End.

14. Of Joiners' Hall, Ivimey tells us at II 498 that it sheltered one of our oldest churches, though no records were extant before Charles II. He traces its story from 1689 till its dissolution in 1761. But he produces no evidence for his statement that John Harris was pastor here in 1671. Wilson had stated twenty years earlier that Harris was pastor here in 1679, but he offered no voucher for the statement. We have been unable to trace him before he signed the summons to the Assembly of 1689, though this implies he was a man of mark. It is too hazardous to identify him with the John Harris who in 1649 put out a radical pamphlet against the conservatism and tyranny of Cromwell, though as our John Harris died about 1691, there is nothing impossible in the identity.

Supposing Wilson and Ivimey to be correct in calling this an early congregation, we turn back to look at our Second, Third and Sixth, not yet identified in 1689. If the military Second church be also our Eighth, we may glance past the obscure Third church of Sheppard, Munday and Tipping, to question whether the powerful church of Glazier's Hall be not this. But Wilson and Ivimey are too meager in their information, and Crosby simply says that this was "one of the richest churches in London, I may say in England" (IV 343). The probability is great, but there is not certainty.

15. The church at Mile End Green or Bow was presided over as early as 1669 by George Barrett, who in 1653 had

been assistant to Henry Jessey (Ivimey II, 433). Of its earlier history nothing is known.

There is one other important church, of the Mixed-Fellowship type, which ought to be mentioned, though it never joined these in any corporate act; that which met at Pinners' Hall. This hall, which stood on Old Broad street, was leased by a wealthy congregation which fitted it up with two tiers of galleries, making it such an eligible meeting-house that they sublet it for three other purposes, for a Sabbatarian Baptist church, for an afternoon service on the Lord's day, and for a lecture on Tuesdays. The lessees were of the Tombes-Jessey-Bunyan type, welcoming all believers to membership. Their first minister was Anthony Palmer, an ex-clergyman, from a similar Mixed church at Bourton. He was helped by George Fownes, another ex-clergyman, a Baptist, who went to a similar Mixed church at Broadmead. They were followed by Richard Ward, a Pædobaptist, and not till 1744 did another Baptist become pastor. The church is noteworthy for its liberal Baptist members, the Hollis family, benefactors of the Baptists in London and of Harvard University in Massachusetts. It expired with its last minister, a Pædobaptist, in 1779.

It will be observed that the London churches set the example of associating together voluntarily, in 1644. Universal precedent in England was for compulsory subordination; the Brownists and Separatists had introduced the idea of separate gathered churches, which were now accomplished facts. Then in 1596 the Ancient church of London and Amsterdam had acknowledged that separate churches ought to have counsel and help one from another in all needful affairs. But England gave no illustration of this; only in Massachusetts had there been such a council in 1637, and a second in 1643; and it is very doubtful if such isolated proceedings in New England gave any hint to the Baptists of London. The conference, and the confession it gave rise to, are alike new departures.

The Presbyterians of Scotland forced their system on the Long Parliament, and England was for a time nominally under

presbyteries and synods. But the system collapsed when Cromwell defeated the Scotch at Dunbar and Worcester, and when wise ministers sought a practical substitute, they found nothing better than to imitiate the Baptist voluntary associations. Baxter led the way in May, 1653, while the London clergy were not much behind, and within the next seven years there was a very general associating on these lines.

But it deserves to be emphasized that the initiative was Baptist. And during 1653 there was a general Baptist move in this direction; the Irish churches sent a joint letter recommending joint action; the London churches issued a circular over England to that effect, our J; the west country churches sent a joint letter to Hexham. Nor was co-operation limited to mere writing; the Midland Association was formed at Warwick on May 3, 1655; the Western Association met, not for the first time, at Wells in November 1653; the Berkshire Association was formed at Wormsley on October 8, 1652.

The pioneer of all these was the London group, which not only revised and reissued the paragraph of 1596 as to counsel, but put it in force. And for fifty years and more, the influence of London Baptists was thrown on voluntary association. The persecution of 1660 checked this everywhere, but when the respite of 1672 came, they leagued with the Hertfordshire churches; when the storm ceased in 1688, they called a general assembly and revived the associations everywhere. The London assemblies ceased after 1693, though they lasted in the Bristol district till 1730; the London association is heard of in 1697 by a letter sent to it from the Association of General Bapists, but it soon died, and a revival in 1706 seemed transient. It is very tempting to infer that just one or two stalwarts were really interested, and that when they were aged or dead, the spirit of isolation conquered. Knowles died 1691, Kiffin, 1701.

The peculiar retention of the number of Seven, hints at a prediction for allegory and mysticism, if not for the warlike Fifth-Monarchy doctrines outright. It is not without importance that when the Parliament of the Saints came to an end in 1653, a new constitution was adopted, and next year a parlia-

ment met for England, Scotland and Ireland. The Fifth-Monarchy party protested vigorously, and held a great assembly just before parliament opened, arranging for regular weekly demonstrations. Among them were a few Baptist churches, and it is well to note how they became thus entangled for a while in a peculiar movement. The church of Hanserd Knowles is that which is best known; that of John Simpson seems to have faded rapidly; that of Henry Jessey was hardly to be called Baptist as yet; that of Peter Chamberlen was Calvanisitc Baptist, but was also Sabbatarian and thus stands aloof; that of Vavasor Powell and Peake was not wholly Baptist, and as Powell presently repudiated Calvinism and wrote against it, no notice is taken here. The Fifth-Monarchy movement met with a severe check from Cromwell in 1657, and its outbreak in 1661 led not only to a general persecution, but to a discrediting of its principles. We hear little of the Seven from any sober men after then.

Prominent members of the London Particular Baptist churches, 1642-1692:

A before 1644. B 1644. C 1646. D 1649. E F 1650. G H 1651. I 1652-4. J 1653. K 1654. L 1657. M 1659. N 1661. O 1669-78. P 1674. Q 1676. R S 1689. T 1692.

1, Spilsoury's church; 2, Hobson; 3, Munday; 4, Kilcop-Cox-Harrison; 5, Kiffin; 6 Gunn; 7 Knowles; 8 D'Anvers; 9, Isaac Lamb; 10, Gosnold; 11, Wise; 12, Jessey; 13, Keach; 14, Harris; 15, Barrett.

John Abbot, O 12.

Richard Adams, R S T 5. Pupil of Tombes, ejected in Leicestershire, licensed in 1672 as Congregationalist, elder at the General Baptist Dockhead church in 1689, helping Kiffin in 1692.

Nathan Allen, E.

James Allen, K 12.

Edward Annesley, O 15.

Nathaniel Aske, K 7.

George Barrett, of Jessey's church in 1653, K 12 O, R S T 15.

Richard Bartlett, E 6.
John Battey, A 1, L M N O S.
John Berry, K 12.
Christopher Blackwood, N 4. From Ireland. Author.
Samuel Blaiklock, A 3.
Sister Blunt, O 5.
Richard Blunt, A 4.
Samuel Boneal, S 14.
Samuel Booth, S. Limehouse.
Christopher Booth, O 12.
Robert Bowes, E J 6.
John Brady, E T 6.
David Bramly, L 24. Fined £20 on 15 May, 1670, for preaching, first offence.
John Buckmaster, O 12.
John Burkes, S 8.
Humphrey Burroughs, S T 9.
Samuel Buttall, O 12. To Bristol and Plymouth.
Mark Cam, O.
Thomas Carter, E F G 6.
Thomas Caswell, Bricklane, Whitechapel, 1661.
Ralph Chapman, O 15.
Thomas Chapple, O 12.
William Chassey, G 6.
Robert Cherry, E G 6.
John Child, of Grace church street; author, apostate and suicide.
John Clark, K L 12.
William Clark, S 5.
John Clement, M.
John Collet, S 4.
Hercules Collins, S T 1. From Petty France Author.
Sarah Collins, O 5.
William Collins, Q S T 4. Reviser of Westminster Confession?
William Combey, E G 6.
William Conset, D E F G H 6.

Thomas Cooper, J M N 5.

Benjamin Cox, C 4. Ex-rector of Sandford Peverel. Reviser of the 1644 Confession.

John Cox, N 4.

Nehemiah Cox, Q 4. Son of Benjamin. Reviser of the Westminster Confession?

Nathaniel Crabb, O 12; S.

Edward Cresset, E M 6.

? Bridget Cromwell, lady Fleetwood, O 12.

Owen Davis, P.

Thomas Dawson, O 12; S 13.

Captain Richard Deane, M O. See Broadmead 359; Ivimey J, 193. Wrote on death of Child 1684, and to Bishop Barlow.

Thomas Delaune. Printer and author.

Benjamin Dennis, O 15.

Gregory Dexter, before 1644. Benedict, 451.

Daniel Dike, M.A., O P Q 5.

William Dix, P S 14. $nery, married Mary Knowles, O 5.?

Captain Don, who helped Watford. Query, a short-hand error for Deane?

Robert Doyley, E 6.

Edward Drapes, elder, D F 6. Author. Widow, O 5.

Edward Druit, E 6.

Michael Dunwell, O 12.

Widow Dupper, O 5.

John Durton, K 7.

Carolus Du Veil, of Grace church street. Author.

Rentus Edwards, L.

George Eubank, K 12.

Thomas Evans, L.

James Fitten, elder, O 12.

Henry Forty, F H P Q 12. Unknown to what church he belonged in 1650 and 1651.

Thomas Franklin, K 7.

John Giller, S 9.

Richard and Mary Goodall, S. Original members at Boston, 1665.

John Goodwin, L.
John Gowdin, L.
Hugh Gosnell, F H.
John Gosnold, M.A., M O P 10. Master of the Charterhouse. Author.
George Gospright, M.
Thomas Gower, B C 2. Founder of Newcastle church. Released from Durham jail in 1672.
Edward Grainge, M.
Richard Graves, E H 6.
Edward Green, E G M 6.
Henry Grigg, E 6.
John Griggs, L.
Thomas Gunn, B C 6. From the 1621 church.
William Haines, E 6.
Nathanael Hall, O 12.
Richard Hallowell, S 8.
Captain Sir John Harman, E 6. Ivimey I, 295.
John Harris, R S 14. Author?
Edward Harrison, H J L M N O 4. Vicar of Kensworth, owner of the Petty France premises.
Leonard Harrison, S T. Of Limehouse.
T. Harrison, E 6.
Thomas Harrison, O 5. Tallow chandler.
Thomas Harrison, K 7.
Thomas Harrison, S T 4. Son of Edward. Author.
Daniel Hawes, S 15.
Edward Heath, B 7?
Joseph Heather, K 7.
Nathaniel Hewet, K 12.
John Hewet, K 7.
Benjamin Hewling, M 5.
Thomas Hicks, Q. Author in 1653?
Henry Hills, J M N 5. Printer to the Commonwealth.
Paul Hobson, A B C 2. Traitor, but perhaps ceased to be Baptist first. Author.
Richard Hollowell, S 8.

Thomas Holmes, C 7.
Thomas Hopgood, Q.
Richard Horton, O 10.
William Hull, Bricklane, Whitechapel, 1661.
John Hunt, S. Limehouse.
John Hunter, P.
Humphrey Hutchings, S 1.
James Hycrigg, Q.
Daniel Ingold, K 7.
Richard Irish, O 12.
Henry Jackson, L.
Henry Jessey, K L 12. Of Swan Alley, Coleman street. Author.
David Jones, O 5.
John Jones, K 12.
James Jones, O Q. Of Southwark. See Watford records.
Benjamin Keach, O R S T 13. Author.
William Kiffin, alderman and major and elder, A B C F H J K M N Q R S T 5. Author.
Thomas Kilcop, A B C 4. Author.
Daniel King, author at the Limekiln in Southwark, January 1651-2, in touch with Glazier's Hall, Patient, Spilsbury, Kiffin and Pearson; Ivimey II, 577.
Maurice King, P S 5. Silkman (Ivimey III, 337).
James Knight, N 4.
Hanserd Knowles, A C I K L M P Q R S 7. Author.
Mary Knowles, O 5.
Isaac Lamb, S 9.
Thomas Lampet, S 7 .
John Leader, S 13.
—— — Lock, helped Watford.
Jonathan Lodington, L.
Mark Lucar, A 4?
Samuel Luke, E 6. Query whether "Lock" be not an error in transcribing shorthand?
Thomas Mabbatt, B C 6. In Kiffin's church by 1666?
Ralph Mainwaring, E 6.

Joseph Makresh, K 12.

Edward Man, R S T 8. From Petty France (Ivimey III, 340).

John Man, N 6.

Thomas Mariot, T 14.

Isaac Marloe, S 15. Author.

John and Joseph Mason, O 12.

Robert Mason, K 7.

Richard Mathyson, O 15.

Robert Maton, P. Author 1642.

Richard Merriman, helped Watford, L.

John Merriot, S 14.

John Mildmay, G. Compare Ivimey I, 294.

John Miles, D 6. From Ilston, founder of Swansea in America.

Wlliam Minchin, K 12.

John More, K 17.

Joseph Morton, P Q.

Thomas Munday, A B C 3.

Edward Noble, P Q.

John Noble, 4 (Ivimey III, 340). Author.

John Norcott, P 1. From Petty France. Author.

William Nuttall, O 12.

Thomas Patience, B C F 5. From New England, Elder at Dublin, J. "Our Orthodox Preaching Taylor" (Anabaptists Recantation, 1660). Author.

John Overinge, S 1.

Joseph Patshall, A H 5 or 7.

Thomas Paul, H P.

John Pearson, F N 5.

John Perkins, K 7.

Robert Perrot. Author; 1658. Stole the crown 1671.

John Perry, I K 7.

Joseph Phelpes, B 7?

Thomas Pierson, K 12.

Thomas Plant, O P 10. Author.

Ralph Prentice, F.

Enoch Prosser, at Broadmead in Jannary 1682. 13.
John Putipher, S 15.
Thomas Proud. D 6. Ejected from Cheriton.
John Raynes, L.
James Rich, K 12.
Samuel Richardson, B C 1. Author.
Joshua Rickards, K 12.
Edward Roberts, E H M N 6.
John Roberts, 13. Crosby III, 146.
Peter Row, E 6.
Daniel Royse, N.
Tobias Russel, T 14.
Solomon Saffery, F.
Edward Sanford, S 13.
Joseph Sanson, F H J K L.
Sister Sheppard, O 5.
Peter Scutt, D J 6.
Thomas Sheppard, A B 3.
Joseph Simpson, N 1. Query, Sanson, whose name is most variously spelt?
John Skinner, S 7.
Ann and John Smith, O 12. Broadmead 116.
John Snelling, P.
Robert Snelling, P Q.
John Sowdin, M.
John Spencer, A 2. Coachman. Author.
Captain Thomas Spencer I. Rippon II, 361. Afterwards of Hertford and Theobalds.
John Spilsbury, A B C F H K L M N 1. Author.
Hannah Staismore, O 5.
Joseph Stafford, E G 6.
Samuel Stanton, M.
Robert Stayner, E 6.
Robert Steed, S T 7.
William Thomas, O 12.
Thomas Tillam, I 7. Author.
George Tipping, B C 3. Helped Watford.

John Tombes M. Preacher at the Temple (Ivimey I, 294). Author. Minister of Fenchurch (Crosby I, 285).

David Towler, K 7.

John Travers, 77. (Crosby III, 32).

Richard Tredwell, A J 2 or 3. Compare Crosby IV 282, III 127.

Henry Tull, M.

Samuel Tull, G 6; L M N 4.

Thomas Vans, F. Known at Edworth, 1669, Pirton 1672. and Bristol 1679.

John Vernon, F P. Physician (Ivimey II, 466).

Waner, S. (Crosby I, 358).

William Warren, L. M.

Thomas Waters, A F H 4?

John Watson, H I 7.

John Webb, B 6. From 1621 church. Became athesit?

John Webber, K 7.

Thomas White, J 2 or 3.

Thomas Wilcocks, P. Crosby III, 101. Author.

Thomas Wilkes, K 7.

Lawrence Wise, Q 11. Hymn-writer.

John Wittinbrook, K 7.

Richard Woollaston, O 12.

Z. Worth, N 6.

Simon Wyld, K 7.

Thomas Young, F H. At Stokesley in 1654, Hexham letters 355?

Jeremiah Zanchy, N 1.

VII. THE PAULICIAN CHURCHES.

BY REV. JOHN T. CHRISTIAN, D.D., LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

It is to be regretted that most of the information concerning the Paulicians comes through their enemies. Our sources are two-fold. The first source is that of the Greek writers which has long been known and was used by Gibbon in the preparation of the brilliant fifty-fourth chapter of his history. Not much has been added from this source since then. The accounts were deeply prejudiced, and although Gibben suspected the malice and poison of these writers, and laid bare much of the malignity expressed by them, he was at times misled in his facts. He did not have the completeness of information which was necessary for a full delineation of their history.

The two original Greek sources are Photius (Adv. recentiores Manichaeos, Ed. by Ch. Wolf, Hamburg, 1772) and Petros Sikeliotes (Historia Manichaeorum qui Pauliciani dicunter Gr. et Lat. Ed. Matth. Raderus, Ingolstadt, 1604.)

Photius was a man of ability; but as Patriarch of Constantinople he was more interested in crushing the Paulicians and in making black their character than he was in giving a correct history of their practices and doctrines. In order to obtain his place as Patriarch he was guilty of many cruelties and irregularities. He was excommunicated by Nicholas I., in 682, as a usurper, and a synod deposed him as a "liar, adulterer, parricide and heretic." He was also accused of irregularities in public monies. This is the first witness against the Paulicians.

Petros Sikeliotes was a nobleman who was sent by the Emperor Basil to treat with the Paulicians for the exchange of prisoners, and he remained within their borders for nine months. Some writers accuse him of "borrowing," in his book, from Photius. This is the second witness against the Paulicians.

These writers impute the worst of principles and practices to the Paulicians whom they uniformly describe as heretics. The historian Mosheim gives the preference for candor and fairness to Petros Sikeliotes and yet Mr. Gibbon states that "the six capital errors of the Paulicians are defined by Petros Sikeliotes with much prejudice and passion" (Gibbon, "The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire", V). Testimony from such sources must be received with caution.

The second source of information in regard to the Paulicians is Armenian in its origin and has only recently been brought to light and illustrated. There was an old book of the Paulicians called the "Key of Truth" mentioned by Gregory Magistros, Duke of Mesopotamia, in the eleventh century. Unhappily that book was lost. Fortunately Mr. Fred C. Conybeare, M. A., formerly Fellow of University College, Oxford, is much interested in affairs in Armenia. In 1891 he was for the second time in that country in quest of documents illustrative of the ancient history of the Paulicians. He fell upon a copy of the "Key of Truth" in the Library of the Holy Synod, at Edjmiatzin. He received a copy of it in 1893 made by the deacon Galourt Ter Mkherrschian; and the ancient text together with an English translation was printed by Mr. Conybeare in 1898 (Conybeare, "The Key of Truth, A Manual of the Paulician Church of Armenia". Oxford, 1898.) He also accompanied the text with important data received from Armenian historians and from other sources. As may be judged this is not only a new but a very important source of information. The Paulicians are at length enabled to plead, in a measure, for themselves. We are also able pracitcally to reconstruct the Paulician history.

The Paulician churches were of Apostolic origin, and were planted in Armenia in the first century. "Through Antioch and Palmyra this faith must have spread into Mesopotamia and Persia; and in those regions became the basis of that Nestorian Christianity which spread over Turkestan, invaded China, and still has a foothold in Urmiah and in Southern India. From centers like Edessa, Nisibis and Amida it was diffused along the

entire range of the Taurus, from Cilicia as far as Ararat, and beyond the Araxes into Albania, on the Southern slopes of the Eastern Caucasus. Its proximate center of diffusion in the latter region seems to have been the upper valley of the great Zab, where was the traditional site of the martyrdom of St. Bartholomew, to whom the Armenians traced back the succession of the bishops of the canton of Siunig, north of the Araxes. In Albania, Atropatene, and Vaspurakan to the east of Lake Van, and in Moxoene, Arzanene, and Taraunitis to its south and west, as most of the early Armenian historians admit, Christianity was not planted by the efforts of Gregory the Illuminator, but was long anterior to him and had an Apostolic origin" (Conybeare, "The Key of Truth", VIII).

The historical Church of Armenia, the Nestorian, was a compromise between the Roman Catholic Church of the Nicene faith and original Christianity; but the Paulician churches represented primitive Christianity. These churches in the Taurus range of mountains formed a huge recess or circular dam into which flowed the early Paulician faith to be caught and maintained for centuries, as it were a backwater from the main for centuries by the Greek theologians of Constantinople and the other great centers" (Bury, ed. Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall, VI. 543).

The "Key of Truth" which belongs in its origin to from the eighth to the twefth century always refers to the Paulicians as apostolic in origin. It says: "Thus the universal and apostolic church learned from our Lord Jesus, and continued to do so, as is clear in their Acts and especially in the traditions of our Savior Jesus Christ, which he imposes on the universal and apostolic church, saying, Mark 16:15: 'Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to all creatures. Whoever shall believe, shall be baptized, shall live; and he who shall not believe, shall be judged' " (Ibid, 73). Another passage where the churches are declared to be apostolic is: "Let us then submit humbly to the Holy Church Universal, and follow their works who acted with one mind and one faith and taught us. Now

still do we receive in the only proper (lit. necessary) season the holy and precious mystery of our Lord Jesus Christ and of the heavenly Father:—to-wit, in the season of repentance and of faith. As we learned from the Lord of the universal and apostolic church, so do we proceed: and we establish in perfect faith those who (till then) have not holy baptism (Margin, That is to say, the Latins, Greeks, and Armenians, who are not baptized); nay, nor have tasted of the body or drunk of the holy blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. Therefore according to the word of the Lord, we must first bring them into the faith, induce them to repent, and then give it (margin, baptize) unto them" (Conybeare, "The Key of Truth", 76, 77). Thus the Paulicians claimed apostolic origin and practice; and that they were the holy apostolic and universal church.

They always declared that the sects were not members of the church of God and they would say: "We do not belong to these; they have long ago broken connection with the church, and have been excluded." Such is the testimony of Gregory Magistros. A. D. 1058, whose history is one of the chief Armenian sources of information. The Paulicians asserted we belong to the true church; and they always answered any who asked them: "We are Christians." They claim that they handed down the true faith from age to age: "Or as the holy universal and apostolic Catholic Church having learned from our Lord Jesus Christ did proceed; so also must ye after them do as we said above. For they first taught; secondly asked for faith; thirdly induced to repent; and after that granted holy baptism to those who were of full age, and in particular were cognizant of their original sin" (Ibid, 91.)

Gregory of Narek, A. D. 987, says that the Abbot of Kdjav and Mushel probably the governor of Kars, had both satisfied themselves that the Paulician faith was not "alien to the apostolic tradition" (Father Basil Sarkisean, Manichaean Paulician Heresy, Venice, 1893.) That two learned officials like these should claim the Paulicians to be an apostolic church and to possess the apostolic tradition as a valid one, is both important and interesting. On the next page Gregory of Narek

further says: "Such, then, are the apostolic men of your Muschel who examines and finds them to be people of unswerving faith." The claim here is that the Paulicians were the only true and apostolic church. Gregory of Narek again hints at their faith that they were apostolical when he says that they omitted certain things: "There is much that is divine and every thing that is apostolical that is yet denied by them and abolished. Of divine ordinances, there is the laying on of hands, as the apostles received it from Christ."

That the Paulicians held to an apostolic origin is held by many of the foremost Armenian historians. A very old Greek source affirms the same thing (Codex Scorialensis. Edited by J. Fredrich, *Sitzungsberichte der Philos-Philol. Classe der k. b. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München*, 1896, heft i. See C. de Boor in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, VII. 40 A. D. 1898).

Archdeacon Karapet (*Die Paulikianer*, 109, Leipzig, 1893), is certainly right when he observes that the Paulicians were not, and did not claim to be, reformers of the Greek Church. They were "old believers:" not innovators, but enemies of the Catholic innovations of infant baptism, of images and pictures, of intercession of saints, of purgatory, of papal pretensions, of nearly everything later than the time of Tertullian. They did not desire new things but only to keep what they had; and what they had was peculiarly primitive.

It is in this connection to be noticed that the earliest Christianity of Armenia, according to the evidence of the orthodox historians themselves, was centered in Taron, which was also the constant home and focus of Paulicianism. The mother church of Armenia was at Ashtishat, not far from Mush, in the south of Taron. For Valarshapat, north of Ararat, the Roman Neapolis, which was the center of the Nestorian Church, did not become the religious metropolis before the middle of the fifth century.

There was a church at Edessa, the ancient Ur, as early as A. D. 202, and this church was probably Paulician. In 302 Tiridates, an Armenian king, and many of the Armenian

noblemen, were baptized by Gregory the Illuminator. Armenia was probably the first nation to accept Christianity. These Christians had a profound reverence for the Word of God, and were orthodox in their views (Armenia and the Armenians, by Rev. T. C. Trowbridge. In *The Newenglander,* XXXIII., 1. A. D. 1874).

Aristaces of Lastivert, who was an eye-witness of many of the events he describes in his history, A. D. 989-1071, and a careful student of those which went before, says that Gregory the Illuminator was a Paulician and that the Paulician Church recruited from his labors (History of Aristaces, chapter II. Venice, 1844). The same statement is made by Gregory Magistros: "We are the tribe of Aram (Armenians) and agree with them in faith" (MSS. in München Library), said the Paulicians.

In the years 630 to 640 we get a glimpse of the Paulicians in Albania, through John the Philosopher, who calls them Paulicians. He says that they did not practice baptism, did not bless the salt, did not conclude marriage with the blessing of the Church, and raised the objection that the priesthood had been lost upon the earth. He ascribes great antiquity to them. The sect, he says, arose in the times of the apostles and appeared among the Romans. Here we have an echo of the claim of the Paulicians themselves that they were the true apostolic church.

The story of the conversion of Constantine, A. D., 660, is interesting. He has sometimes been called the founder of the Paulicians. Those who have followed only the Greek sources of Photius and Sikeliotes have usually arrived at this conclusion. We now know that this is without foundation. This young Armenian sheltered a Christian deacon who was flying from Mohammedan persecutions. In return for his kindness he received a copy of the New Testament. "These books became the measure," says Gibbon, "of his studies and the rule of his faith; and the Catholics, who dispute his interpretation, acknowledge that this text was genuine and sincere. But he attached himself with peculiar devotion to the writings and

character of St. Paul—the name of the Paulicians is derived by their enemies from some unknown and domestic teacher—but I am confident that they gloried in their affinity to the apostle of the Gentiles" (Gibbon, "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire", V. 386).

Constantine felt he was called upon to defend and restore primitive Christianity; being greatly impressed by the writings of the Apostle Paul he took the name of one of his followers, Silvanus (C. Schmidt, Schaff-Herzog Encyclopaedia, III. 1777); and the churches founded by him received names from the primitive congregations. The entire people were called Paulicians from the apostle Paul (Schaff, History of the Christian Church, IV. 574). These statements of the apostolic simplicity of these devout Christians tell more of the manners, customs and doctrines than volumes of prejudiced accounts left us by their enemies. With Paul as their guide they could not be far removed from the truth of the New Teseament.

Prof. Wellhausen in his life of Mohammed (Encyclopaedia Brittanica, XVI. 571; 9th edition) gives a most interesting account of the Baptists of the Syro-Balylonian desert. He says that they were called Sabians, Baptists, and that they practiced the primitive forms of Christianity. They were off the line of Christianity's main advance and were left untouched in their primitive simplicity. From them Mohammed derived many of his externals, though the importance of this must not be undervalued. "It can hardly be wrong to conclude," continues Prof. Wellhausen, "that these nameless witnesses of the Gospel, unmentioned in church history, scattered the seed from which sprung the germ of Islam." These Christians were the Paulicians.

This bit of history will account for a fact that has been hard to understand heretofore. The emperors had determined to drive the Paulician from their dominions. They took refuge in the Mohammedan dominion generally, where they were tolerated and where their own type of belief never ceased to be accounted orthodox. This we learn from John the Philosopher. The Arabs had since the year 650 successfully challenged the

Roman influence in Armenia. The same protection probably preserved the Paulician churches through many ages. It is certain that the Paulicians were true to the Arabs, and that the Mohammedans did not fail them in the hour of trial.

The number of the Paulicians constantly increased and they soon attracted the attention of their enemies. In the year 690 Constantine, their leader, was stoned to death by the command of the emperor; and the successor of Constantine was burned to death in the year 690. The Empress Theodora instituted a persecution in which one hundred thousand Paulicians in Grecian Armenia are said to have lost their lives.

The Paulicians in the ninth century rebelled against their enemies, drove out Michael III., and established in Armenia the free state of Teprice. This is a well-known site some seventy miles southeast of Sivas on the river Chalta. They gave absolute freedom of opinion to all of its inhabitants (Evans, Historical View of Bosnia, 30). From the capital of this free state, itself called Teprice, went forth a host of missionaries to convert the Slavonic tribes of Bulgaria, Bosnia, and Serbia to the Paulician faith. This is positively stated by Petros Sikeliotes. Great was their success—so great that a large proportion of the inhabitants of the free state migrated to what were then independent states beyond the emperor's control. The state of Teprice lasted nearly one hundred and fifty years, when it was overcome by the Saracens. All around them were bitter persecutions for conscience' sake—they themselves had lost one hundred thousand members by persecutions under the reign of Theodora; yet here was a shelter offered to every creed and unbeliever alike. This is a striking Baptist peculiarity.

The Baptists have always set up religious liberty when they had an opportunity. Conybeare, speaking of the Paulicians, justly remarks: "And one point in their favor must be noticed, and it is this, their system was, like that of the European Cathars, in its basal idea and conception alien to persecution; for membership in it depended upon baptism, voluntarily sought for, even with tears and supplications, by the faithful and penitent adult. Into such a church there could be no

dragooning of the unwilling. On the contrary, the whole purpose of the scrunity, to which the candidate for baptism was subjected, was to ensure that his heart and intelligence were won, and to guard against the merely outward conformity, which is all that a persecutor can hope to impose. It was one of the worst results of infant baptism, that by making membership in the Christian church mechanical and outward, it made it cheap; and so paved the way of the persecutor" (Conybeare, "The Key of Truth", XII). The church of Christ has never been a persecuting church.

In the year 970 the emperor, John Tzminisces, transferred some of the Paulicians to Thrace and granted them religious liberty; and it is recorded to their credit that they were true to his interests (Schaff-Herzog Encyclopaedia, III, 1777). In the beginning of the eighth century their doctrines were introduced and spread throughout Europe, and their principles soon struck deep in foreign soil.

It was in the country of Albigenses, in the Southern provinces of France, that the Paulicians were the most deeply implanted and here they kept up a correspondence with their brethren in Armenia. The faith of the Paulicians "lived on in Languedoc and along the Rhine as the submerged Christianity of the Cathars, and perhaps also among the Waldenses. In the Reformation this Catharism comes once more to the surface particularly among the so-called Anabaptists and Unitarian Christians, between whom and the most primitive church "The Key of Truth" and the Cathar Ritual of Lyon supply us with two great connecting links" (Conybeare, "The Key of Truth", X).

They were bitterly persecuted by the popes; and all literary and other traces of them, as far as possible, destroyed. But "the visible assemblies of the Paulicians, or Albigeois, were extirpated by fire and sword; and the bleeding remnant escaped by flight, concealment, or Catholic conformity; in the state, in the church, and even in the cloister, a latent *succession was preserved* of the disciples of St. Paul; who protested against the tyranny of Rome, embraced the Bible as the rule of faith,

and purified their creed from all the visions of the Gnostic theology" (Gibbon, "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire", V. 398).

Many historians beside Gibbon, such as Muratori and Mosheim, regard the Paulicians as the forerunners of the Albigenses, and in fact as the same people. One of the latest of these, already frequently quoted, is Prof. Fred C. Conybeare, of the University of Oxford, one of the highest authorities in the English speaking world on early Christian literature. He affirms that the true line of succession is found among the Baptists. He says: "The church has always adhered to the idea of spiritual regeneration in baptism, although by baptizing babies it has long ago stultified itself and abandoned the essence of baptism. Indeed the significance of the baptism of Jesus, as it presented itself to St. Paul and the evangelists, was soon lost sight of by the orthodox churches." Again: "We hear much discussion nowadays of the validity of orders—English, Latin and Oriental. The unbiased student of church history cannot but wonder that it has never occurred to any of these controversialists to ask whether they are not, after all, contending for a shadow; whether, in short, they have, any of them, real orders in the primitive sense in which they care to claim possession of them. The various sects of the Middle Ages which, knowing themselves simply as Christians, retained baptism in its primitive form and significance, steadily refused to recognize as valid the infant baptism of the great orthodox or presecuting churches; and they were certainly in the right, so far as the doctrine and tradition count for anything. Needless to say, the great churches having long ago lost genuine baptism, can have no further sacraments, no priesthood, and, strictly speaking, no Christianity. If they would re-enter the pale of Christianity, they must repair, not to Rome or Constantinople, but to some of the obscure circles of Christains, mostly in the East, who have never lost the true continuity of the baptismal sacrament. These are the Paulicians of Armenia, the Bogomil sect round Moscow whose members call themselves Christ's, the adult Baptists (those who practice

adult baptism) among the Syrians of the upper Trigis valley, and perhaps, though not so certainly, the Bopelikans, the Mennonites, and the great Baptist communities of Europe. This condemnation of the great and so-called orthodox churches may seem harsh and pedantic, but there is no escape from it, if we place ourselves on the same ground on which they profess to stand. Continuity of baptism was more important in the first centuries of the church than continuity of orders; so important, indeed, that even the baptism of heretics was recognized as valid. If store was set by the unbroken succession of bishops, it was only because one function of the bishop was to watch over the integrity of the initiatory rite of the religion. How badly the bishops of the great churches did their duty, how little, indeed, after the third century they even understood it, is seen in the unchecked growth, from about 300 A. D. onward, of the abuse of the baptismal rite, resulting before long in its entire forfeiture (Conybeare, The History of Christmas in *The American Journal of Theology*).

One thing is certain that in Italy, in France, and along the Rhine, the Paulicians and Albigenses were found in the same territory, and there was no difference between them in doctrine and practice. Writers go as far as to declare that there was a succession of churches and of interests. It is well attested, that in the early middle of the eleventh century, they were numerous in Lombardy and Isurbia, but especially in Milan, in Italy; and it is no less certain that they traveled through France, Germany and other countries, and by their sanctity they won large numbers of common people. In Italy they were called Paternes and Cathari and in Germany, Gazari. In France they were called Albigenses. They were called Bulgarians, particularly in France, because some of them came from Bulgaria, and they were also known by the name of Boni Homines, Good Men (Mosheim, Institutes of Ecclesiastical History, II., 200-203). Their enemies extolled them for their piety. A succession of these people is found all through the Middle Ages.

With the most unblushing effrontery the Greek writers,

Photius and Sikeliotes, pronounced the Paulicians as belonging to the sect of the Manichaeans. This heretic asserted that the universe was created by the devil. This charge against the Paulicians has been repeated by a great many writers. They have on this account been denounced as heretics. There was, however, a fresh and vigorous Puritanism about them in an age when Greek Christianity had degenerated into the court superstition of Constantinople. Probably a purer evangelical Christian body never existed.

The Catholic party were singularly hostile to the party of Manes and denounced them as if they had been friends incarnate. Eusebius spoke of Manes as a "barbarian," "a madman", "diabolical and furious" (Eusebius, "The Church History", 316). It was easy, therefore, to stir up prejudice against the Paulicians by denouncing them as of the Manichaean party.

"The Key of Truth" positively affirms that they were not of the Manichaeans (p. 48). There is no indication that the Paulicians went beyond the well marked dualism of the New Testament itself, according to which (John 12:31 and 14:30) Satan is the ruler of the world, or even, as Paul expressed it (2 Cor. 4:2), the god of this world. The morbid anxiety of Augustine and of the fathers, both before and after him, to discount the force of these texts in their confutations of Marcion and of the Manichaeans, raised the suspicion that the latter rested their dualism upon St. Paul and the fourth Gospel. In their confutations of heretics the orthodox fathers were not too scrupulous of the truth. They all carried in their bag two weights, a heavier and a lighter, and in their dealings with the so-called heretics used the latter (Conybeare, "The Key of Truth", XLIV). It is certain that the Paulicians did not go beyond the Scriptures on this subject.

Photius himself, who charged them with following Marcion, admits that they declared their abhorrence of Marcion, and of his doctrine (Photius, contra Manichaeos, lib. I. 17, 56, 65). Mosheim says: "It is certain that they were not genuine Manichaeans" (Mosheim, Institutes of Ecclesiastical History,

II. 103). Gibbon says that Mosheim weighed this testimony "with his usual judgment and candor" (Gibbon, "The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," V. 385 note), and adds his own testimony: "The Paulicians sincerely condemned the memory and opinions of the Manichaean sect, and complained of the injustice which impressed that invidious name on the simple votaries of St. Paul and of Christ" (Ibid, 386).

Armenian scholars do not, at present, hesitate to contradict these prejudiced accounts of the Greeks that the Paulicians were Manichaeans. Such is the position of Ter Mkttschain Karapet (Die Paulikianer im *Byzantinischen in Armenien,* Leipzig, 1893. See also *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte,* October, 1895).

C. Schmidt says: "The Paulicians were not a branch of the Manichaeans as Photius, Petros Sikeliotes, and many modern authors have held" (Schaff-Herzog Encyclopaedia, III. 1777).

J. Friedrich justly remarks that the association with Marcion is merely due to the religious schematism, which, in the seventh and succeeding centuries, set down every form of dissent from the dominant orthodoxy to Manichaean influence. Manichaeanism was in those days the *bete noire* of the orthodox Catholic, just as freemasonry is at the present day (Friedrich, *Der ursprüngliüche bei Georgios Monachos nur theilweise erhaltenen Bericht über die Paulikianer.* In *Sitzungsberichte der Philos. Philol. Classe der k. b. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München,* 1896. Heft. i).

Mr. Conybeare entered upon his investigations with the full conviction that the Paulicians were Manichaeans, and came out of the investigation fully convinced that they were not. After finding the "Key of Truth" he said: "My first impression on looking into it afresh was one of disappointment. I had expected to find in it a Marcionite, or at least a Manichaean book; but, beyond the extremely sparse use made in it of the Old Testament, I found nothing that savored of these ancient heresies. Accordingly I laid it aside, in the press of other

work which I had undertaken. It was not until the summer of 1896 that, at the urgent request of Mr. Darwin Swift, who had come to me for information about the history of Manichaeanism in Armenia, I returned to it, and tranlated it into English in the hope that it might advance his researches.

And now I at last understood who the Paulicians really were. All who had written about them had been misled by the calumnies of Photius, Petros Sikeliotes, and the other Greek writers, who describe them as Manichaeans. I now realized that I had stumbled on the monument of a phase of the Christian Church so old and so outworn, that the very memory of it was well nigh lost" (Conybeare, "The Key of Truth", V. vi).

These discovered facts, as recorded by Conybeare, have greatly modified the scholarship of the world in regard to the Paulicians. It is now quite freely admitted that they were not Manichaeans.

Prof. J. B. Bury, A. M., LL.D., Regius Professor of Greek in Dublin University, says of the Paulician document: "This liturgy considerably modifies our views touching the nature of Paulicianism, which appears to have had nothing to do with Marcionism" (Bury, Ed. Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire", VI. 543; London, 1898).

The Manichaeans held that the devil created the world; the Paulicians held that God created the world. "The Key of Truth" says: "The heavenly Father, the true God, fashioned (or created) the heavens with all that belongs thereto, and the earth with all its kinds; he equipped them" (Conybeare, "The Key of Truth", 79, 114). The Paulicians are thus cleared of all traces af heresy and it is shown that they held to the New Testament doctrines strictly.

Turning to the doctrine and practices of the Paulicians we find that they made constant use of the Bible. The Old Testament is more rarely cited than the New; but it is not rejected and it is called by them the God-inspired-book. None of the Armenian sources accuse the Paulicians of rejecting the Old Testament in a manner in which they did not reject the New Testament. Gregory Magistros says: "They are ever .....

quoting the Gospel and the Apostolon" (MSS. in München Library). Their enemies appealed to the canonical New Testament against the Paulicians which they said they believed (Codex Schorialensis, XV.). Photius alleged that they received all of the New Testament. The Word of God was their supreme rule of faith and practice.

They had no orders in the clergy as distinguished from laymen by their mode of living, their dress, or other things; they had no councils or similar institutions. Their teachers were all of equal rank. They held, according to Paul of Taron, "that the bishop had no more honor than the priest." The preachers were not distinguished from the laymen by any rights, prerogatives or insignia (Photius, contra Manichaeos, I. 31, 32).

On this point the Paulicians said: "Let us return to the sequence of our direction, already expressed, that it is necessary for that man to be on all sides free from blemish, before we give him authority (rule) of priesthood, of episcopate (*or* overseership), of doctorate, of apostleship, of presidency, and of election. For all these are one and the same thing; nor are they one greater or lesser than another. But they are on an entire level, as our intercessor Jesus enjoined on his holy elect ones, saying, Luke 26:26, 'But be ye not so, but he that is great among you shall be as the least, and the master (lit. leader) as the servant,' and the rest" (Conybeare, "The Key of Truth", 105). There was not only one order in the ministry but the ministers were elected by the people.

The Paulicians were diligently striving for the simplicity of the apostolic life. They were opposed to all image worship which was practiced by the Catholic Church. "The objects which had been transformed by the magic of superstition, appeared to the eyes of the Paulicians in their genuine and naked colors. An image made without hands was the common workmanship of a mortal artist, to whose skill alone the wood and canvass must be indebted for their merit of value. The miraculous relics were a heap of bones and ashes, destitute of life or virtue, or of any relation, perhaps, with the person to

whom they were ascribed. The true and vivifying cross was a piece of sound or rotten timber; the body and blood of Christ a loaf of bread and a cup of wine, the gifts of nature and the symbols of grace. The mother of God was degraded from her celestial honors and imaculate virginity; and the saints and angels were no longer solicited to exercise the laborious office of meditation in heaven, and the ministry upon earth" (Gibbon, "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire", V. 387).

We cannot be surprised, that they should have found in the Gospel the orthodox mystery of the Trinity. "Instead of confessing the human nature and substantial sufferings of Christ," says Gibbon, "they amused their fancy with a celestial body that passed through the virgin like water through a pipe; with a fantastic crucifiction, that eluded the vain and impotent malice of the Jews" (Ibid, 388). If this was in reality their opinion it was not different from the faith of many of the later Baptists both of Germany and England. Yet later researches have proved that among the Anabaptists, who are reported to have held this singular view, that they fully believed in the human nature of Jesus. Doubtless the same thing is true of the Paulicians. But this testimony rests on no very good basis. It served the purpose of a useful Catholic slander. Their historians always have at hand a charge of heresy against all Christians who do not adopt their form of worship.

In regard to the baptism and the Lord's Supper, Gibbon says: "In the practice, or at least in the theory, of the sacraments, the Paulicians were inclined to abolish all visible objects of worship, and the words of the Gospel were, in their judgment, the baptism and communion of the faithful" (Ibid, 388). This meant that they rejected the mystical and saving power of baptism; for they received baptism itself. Harmenopoulos, a Byzantine monk of the tenth century, affirms that the Bogomils practiced the rite of baptism which they received from the Paulicians, but did not attribute to it any perfecting virtue (Arthur J. Evans, Historical Views of Bosnia, A. D. 1876). He further says that they practiced single immersion upon adults alone, without unction.

We now know positively from "The Key of Truth" that the Paulicians practiced baptism and the Lord's Supper; but they rejected the sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church. And here we have the explanation of such statements as that of Aristaces, that the Paulicians utterly rejected church and church ordinances, the baptism, the mass, the cross and fasts. They necessarily rejected the ordinances of churches which, having willfully corrupted the institution of baptism in its evangelical, primitive, and only genuine form, as they regarded it, had also lost their orders and sacraments and apostolic tradition. But they themselves in repudiating the innovation of infant baptism, had kept all of these things, and so formed the only true church, and were the only real Christians left in the world. This is the significance of such utterances as this of Aristaces. Failure to comprehend it was natural enough in the absence of the fuller knowledge of Paulician tenets which "The Key of Truth" affords us. Such utterances, however, have led enquirers, e. g. the Archdeacon Karapet Ter Mkrvschian, to suppose that the Paulicians really discarded baptism, sacraments, and sacredotal system (Conybeare, "The Key of Truth", XLVII). The Paulicians denied the dogma of sacramental grace.

Baptist views prevailed among the Paulicians. These churches held to such rigid simplicity in their rites that they provoked the ridicule af the Armenian church officials. There was the same Pauline conception of the Lord's Supper by the stress laid upon the single loaf, the same absence of a hierachy, the same description of a minister as an apostle, the same implied Christhood of the elect who teach the word, the same claim to possess the Apostolic succession. They held that men must repent and believe, and then at a mature age ask for baptism, which alone admits them into the church. "It is evident," observes Mosheim, "they rejected the baptism of infants." "The Paulicians or Bogomils," Robinson observes, "baptized and rebaptized by immersion". Venema says that the Paulicians taught "that infants are not to be baptized, till they are at years of understanding." And Dr. Peter Allix,

who was made a Doctor of Divinity by both Oxford and Cambridge, says: "Thus would they have taken the Anabaptists for downright Manichaeans, because they condemned the baptism of infants" (Allix, The Ecclestical History of the Ancient Churches of Piedmont, Oxford 1821).

Something of the opinions of the Paulicians is gathered from a Synod held in Arras, in the year of our Lord 1025, by Gerard, Bishop of Cambray and Arras. One Gundulphus, a Paulician, was condemned. He had taught his doctrines in Italy, which had been carried by his disciples into the diocese of Liege and Cambray in the Low Countries (*Jean Luc d'Archery, Veterum aliquot Seri portum Spicilegiam, XIII*). Their doctrine was scattered from Italy to Holland, and they were known to have had a great number of disciples. They made great show of piety so their enemies declared. The people believed in their sanctity, and hence they had a vast number of followers. They won converts by the force of goodness and by the purity of their faith.

The Paulicians being examined they claimed: "The law and discipline we have received from our Master will not appear contrary either to the Gospel decrees or apostolic institutions, if carefully looked into. This discipline consists in leaving the world, in bridling carnal concupiscence, in providing a livelihood by the labor of our hands, in hunting nobody, and affording our charity to all who are zealous in the prosecution of this, our design." This was no mean defence.

Concerning baptism they made reply: "But if any shall say, that some sacrament lies hid in baptism, the force of that is taken off from three causes: The first is, because the reprobate life of ministers can afford no saving remedy to the persons to be baptized. The second, because whatsoever sins are renounced at the font, are afterwards taken up again in life and practice. The third, because a strange will, a strange faith and a strange confession do not seem to belong to, or to be of any advantage to a little child, who neither wills nor runs, who knows nothing of faith, and is altogether ignorant of his own good and salvation, in which there can be no desire

of regeneration, and from whom no confession of faith can be expected" (Allix, The Ecclesiastical Churches of Piedmont, 104). A better answer could not this day be given.

There is also a Confession of Faith which is attributed to the Paulicians, A. D. 1024, which declares: "In the beginning of Christianity there was no baptizing of children; and their forefathers practiced no such thing;" and "we do from our hearts acknowledge that baptism is a washing which is performed in water, and doth hold out the washing of the souls from sins" (Mehrning, *Der heiligen Tauff Historie,* A. D. 1647, II. 738).

The "Key of Truth" requires that the person baptized shall be an adult. The following was set down as the divine order: "Thus then St. John, firstly, preached unto them; secondly, taught; thirdly, induced them to repent; fourthly, brought them to the faith; and after that cleansed them from stains" (Conybeare, the "Key of Truth", 72). And the Catechism for Christians attached to the "Key of Truth" gives the following order: "Behold, my revered one, first did he enjoin faith, repentance, and then gave the command of holy baptism" (Ibid, 118).

The Armenian historians likewise affirm that the Paulicians rejected infant baptism. Gregory of Narek, A. D. 987, says that they "taught others that it consisted of mere bath water;" and that "the font is denied by them" (Sarkisean, Manichaean Paulician Heresy).

Gregory Magistros, A D. 1058, says that certain bishops recommended that "they should erect in their midst a font," and that in consequence the bishops baptized more than a thousand of the Paulicians. Magistros likewise declares that they were Anabaptists and practiced re-baptism.

These testimonies prove that the Paulicians were not in the practice of infant baptism but that they did baptize adults by immersion. The form of baptism was to dip the subject into the water once, while the Greeks dipped three times. There is much evidence on the form of baptism in Armenia by immersion. Macarus, Patriarch of Jerusalem, A. D. 331 to 335,

writing to the Armenians, says concerning baptism that it was administered with "triple immersion burying in the water of the holy font" (Library of the Mechitarist Fathers of Vienna. Mss. Cod. Arm. No. 100). There is an oration preserved out of the twelfth century ascribed to Isaac Catholics of Armenia which gives the practice of the Paulicians. John Otzun, A. D. 718, speaks of the Paulicians ascending into the baptistery (Otzun, Opera, 25. Venice, 1834). And he further tells how the Mohammedans tried to prevent them from baptizing in the running rivers for fear that they would bewitch the waters and make them unwholesome.

The constant practice of the Oriental Church was immersion. The Rev. Nicholas Bjerring says of its baptism: "Baptism is celebrated sometimes in the church and sometimes in private houses, as needs may be. It is always administered by dipping the infant, or adult, three times" (Bjerring, The Officers of the Oriental Church, XII. New York, 1884). And further on in the liturgy he gives the ceremony of the immersion. Thus did the Paulicians practice single immersion as the Scriptures indicate.

BOOK REVIEWS.

I. PHILOSOPHY AND APOLOGETICS.

Authority in Religion. By Rev. J. H. Leckie. Edinburgh. T. & T. Clark. 1909. Pages 238. Scribner's Sons.

The well-forged argument of this new book on a well-worn subject is avowedly mediating and conservative. To show that the theory which traces authority in religion to the direct, universal communion of God with man involves recognition of the great objective forms in which authority presents itself as a fact of history and experience. As compared with the great works on the subject in German, French and English it is a short treatise, but in the compass of the subject it is truly comprehensive and admirably suitable to serve as an introduction to the more extensive study of the great questions involved by the aid of the ample bibliography given in the foot notes. The book avoids by its chosen point of view some of the special difficulties encountered in a separate treatment of the authority of the Bible. It proceeds upon the assumption that the most tenable and enduring claim of our sacred writings to a right to be held in peculiar reverence is that they are a record of revelation and the classic literature of faith. It makes clear that the New Testament depends for its unique position, not on any theory of inspiration, nor on any rigid view of the canon, but on the fact that it contains three things—all that is historically known of Jesus Christ, the burden of the apostolic teaching and the witness of the earliest age to its impression of the Master and of the gospel he proclaimed—in short, that it is "the original source and classic form of the religious life as it is manifest in the church itself" (p. 171). The author sets

up no claim to novelty, but his chapter on "The Authority of the Prophets—the Aristocrats," "The Authority of the Church—the Christian Democracy," and "The Authority of Jesus Christ—the Lord," are eminently sane, strong and suggestive. In Chapter V, too, on "The Theoretic Source and Organ of Authority," which is concerned, not with the principle of authority as it appears in any concrete form, but with that principle as it presents itself to reflection—as it excites the curiosity of the reason, the author is clear and eloquent and worthy of study, if not always convincing. Here he finds that the problem arises when we face the question—where is the divine voice to be heard? Where is the place of the oracle? Where is the organ of religious authority in the actual experience of men? His answer is that the only theory which seems to offer any hope of fulfilling the conditions involved, is that which declares the organ of ultimate religious authority to be voices." From the purely spectacular point of view he considered this beyond dispute.

GEO. B. EAGER.

The Person and Place of Jesus Christ. By P. T. Forsyth, M.A., D.D., Principal of Hackney College, Hamstead. Boston. 1909. The Pilgrim Press. Pages 357. Price $1.50 net.

The same clear note of authority—of deep thinking and exact scholarship joined to humble faith—that characterized Dr. Forsyth's great work on "The Cruciality of the Cross" sounds forth here in his discussion of the whole personality and work of Jesus Christ. He recognizes that the great battle is now on for a New Testament Christianity and with the glowing zeal of one who feels the joy of the strife and the consummate skill of an experienced warrior he returns to the age-long fight. It is not faith in Christ when we rise no higher than "just a man, but what a man!" The essential thing in a New Testament Christianity is that it came to settle in a final way the issue between a holy God and the guilt of man. All the beauties and charms of a temperamental religion like Francis Newman's, for instance, or Renan's, or many a Buddhist's, are

insignificant compared with a man's living attitude to that work of God's grace for the world once and forever in Jesus Christ. Faith in Christ, in the positive Christian sense, means much more than a relation to God, to which Christ supremely helps us. It is a communion possible not *through,* but only *in* Christ—and him crucified. The real conflict is not between an infallible Bible and a fallible, but between a New Testament Christianity and one which believes it knows better. It is not between inspiration and criticism, but between incarnation and evolution. It is not between *no* revelation in Christ and *a* revelation, but between *a* revelation and *the* revelation in Him. He concedes that the service rendered to Christianity by the great critical movement is almost beyond words, and says that there is a vast amount of foreign work which duly recognizes this last without surrendering the note of a positive gospel; but he accounts it a misfortune almost beyond reckoning that most of the works translated into English are those of the destructive school. Hence certain nimble, popular journals live on the delusion that all of the scholarship is on the side of the radical critics, and they have not so much as heard whether there be alongside of brilliants like Wernle or Schmiedel giants like Kähler or Zahn.

If, as the author modestly says, the work is not meant for scholars, and does not extend the frontier of scientific knowledge, but is meant primarily for ministers of the world, it certainly can be welcomed by both classes as in its way serving both.

GEO. B. EAGER.

The Classical Moralists. Selections Illustrating Ethics from Socrates to Martineau. Compiled by Benjamin Rand, Ph.D., Harvard University. Boston. 1909. Houghton Mifflin Co. Pages 797.

By "classical moralists" the author does not mean those of classical antiquity, but, as the subtitle indicates, the leading moralists of the Western world throughout its history. In such a work the choice of representatives is a matter of judgment on which all would not agree. The author has selected

forty-five representatives, most of them modern and English. But the ancient and medieval are well represented by the great lights in the field of ethics. It would seem that some selections might have been given from oriental moralists.

The plan of the work is to give selections which fairly present in their own words the distinct contribution of the various authors. "The book is virtually a history of ethics, based not upon the ordinary description of systems, but upon selections from the original sources and upon translations of the authors themselves. It is sought, so far as is practicable, to present by means of the case method the most distinctive and constructive features in the ethical systems of the successive moralists." Works which appeared in other than the English language have been in part translated by the compiler; where translations existed some one, usually the best, has been chosen. As a text-book on the history of morals, the work will be exceedingly valuable. The general reader interested in the subject will find it a ready instrument for the survey of the field. Here and there he will want to read more extensively than the selections presented, but often he will feel nothing more is necessary to a proper understanding of the progress made.

W. J. McGLOTHLIN.

Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Edited by James Hastings, M.A., D.D., etc., with the assistance of John A. Selbie, M. A., D.D., and other Scholars. Volue II. Arthur-Bunyan. New York. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1910. Page 901. Price $7.00.

From its first announcement this Encyclopaedia has attracted wide attention and aroused hopeful expectancy. The first volume was noticed in the Quarterly a year ago, and we are glad to make mention of the second, which has been out some six months. In accordance with the announcement of the editor, a very wide interpretation is given to the terms "Religion and Ethics", and one finds many articles which he would not have expected in such a work and some of these are not written in a way to indicate peculiar pertinacity. Under "Association" we find the term opplied only to "Association of Ideas" with

an elaborate and learned discussion of the psychological and philosophical uses and implications of the phrase. Singularly enough in this case there is no mention of the use of the term to signify various semi-ecclesiastical bodies of the congregational Christian denominations.

It is very difficult to determine the relative amount of space to be devoted to various topics and this will also depend very largely upon the learning, the disposition and the ideas of the writers. Still, to take one striking example, it seems quite inappropriate that in an encyclopaedia of religion the "Bull-roarer" should have less space than "Bull". Articles on Aryan Religion (46 pages), Asceticism (48 pages), Baal (15 pages), Baptism (46 pages), the Bible (51 pages), Birth (30 pages), Abode of the Blest (30 pages), the Body (20 pages), are among those remarkably full and complete. Some of these are divided into sections with different authors, and naturally in some cases, as e.g. under Baptism, the personal equation varies a good deal in the different sections of the discussion. On the other hand Brazil (3½ pages), Augustine (6 pages), Bhagavad-gita (a little more than 3 pages), would seem to have been slighted, relatively speaking. This is the more to be remarked when we find 3½ pages devoted to the Axiom, 13 to the Atonic Theory, while Atman is allotted less than 2½.

The articles are marked by great and thorough scholarship as a rule. Of course the type of scholarship varies, for unfortunately we are bound to recognize types of scholarship. Even in matters of history much depends upon the type of the historian's scholarship. This is seen markedly in such articles as Baptism and Bible. The work is a stupendous undertaking, and editors and publishers are to be congratulated on the progress they are making and the character of the work so far produced.

W. O. Carver.

The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopaedia of Religious Knowledge. Vol. VII. "Liutprand" to "Moralities". Funk & Wagnalls. New York. Page 520. Price $5.00.

This volume treats 610 topics and covers some very impor-

tant subjects, such as "Lutherans", "Methodists", "Missions", "Lord's Supper", "Marriage", "Mohammed", "Mithraism". The books of Luke, Mark and Matthew also come in for treatment. Among the biographical articles one notes those on Luther, Livingstone, Melanchthon, McCosh, Moody.

The book is excellent and up-to-date, but shows some deficiencies here and there. In the article on the Lord's Supper there is no adequate discussion of the Baptist position. In the article on Geo. C. Lorimer his pastorate in Louisville is not mentioned. It is well printed and convenient in arrangement.

A. T. Robertson.

A Doubter's Doubts About Sciences and Religion. By Sir Robert Anderson, K. C. B., LL.D. New York. 1909. Gospel Publishing House. Pages 144. Price 75 cents net.

Some years ago the author published a little volume anonymously with this title and gained wide approval. This new edition is extended and published under the name of the well-known antagonist of the evolutionist and higher critical opposers of orthodoxy. In this volume he places over against each other the claims of religion and science and shows how the doubter may more rationally question the assumptions of science than those of religion. This is an easy task for any one familiar with the two fields. One weakness of the author's position is the frequent assumption that traditional religious views occupy the same position as a defendant against a criminal charge in court; and that just as the man in court goes free unless proof of guilt is absolute, so the traditional theory must be allowed to be true so long as its condemnation is not absolute. The two cases are not parallel at all. In the one case we are seeking truth, in the other a personal right is involved. In the one case the most probable view is to be accepted, in the other conviction depends upon the guilt of the prisoner being the only possible theory. Failure to see this distinction, weakens much of the work of Sir Robert, who is so vigorous a writer.

The work deals with a variety of topics "from the standpoint

of skepticism—the true skepticism, which tests everything, not the sham sort which credulously accepts anything that seems to discredit the Bible."

W. O. Carver.

The Supreme Problem. An Examination of Historical Christianity from the Standpoint of Human Life and Experience and in the Light of Psychical Phenomena. By J. Godfrey Raupert. Buffalo, N. Y. 1910. Peter Paul & Son. Pages xx+339. Price $1.50.

This is a vigorous, clear and valuable effort by a Roman Catholic laymen to meet the skepticism of our times which arises from the claims of physical and psychical sciences. The author thinks that the time demands an examination of "the great historic doctrine of Christianity" "in the light . . . . of human experience and of the claims and testimony of the human soul and conscience".

The author takes "the Creed of the Catholic Church" "as the dogmatic basis" for his argument and examination, because it is the creed of his church and because "no other uniform dogmatic basis is available". He is mistaken in supposing any uniform dogmatic basis necessary for an apologetic argument and also in thinking of the Creed of the Catholic Church as a "uniform basis", for certainly it is not uniform, for that Protestant Christendom, wherein is to be found the most active thought and vitality which make necessary and valuable an apologetic. But when our author comes to select the dogmas to be defended and enforced, he selects two that are by no means limited to the Catholic Creed, but belong to essential Christianity. The two are Man's Fall and his Redemption through Jesus Christ. These are not at all an exclusive or distinctive possession of the Catholic church. It cannot be said that Protestantism as a whole accepts the Catholic dogma of the Fall, but what is essential in that dogma, the fact of sin and man's need of divine hlp is common belief of all Christianity. The author devotes about two-thirds of his volume to the doctrine of the Fall, dealing with the modern ideas and urging with vigorous reasons the degrading influence of the fall of man's intellectual

powers and moral nature and spiritual condition. He then sets forth "The Devil's Dominion Over the Human Race", attributing to the devil and his demons much of the psychic phenomena so occupying the attention of our time.

The last third of the book deals with "The Restoration of Man in Jesus Christ". The author avails himself of Protestant—to use his own term, "Non-Catholic"—experiences and thought as well as those of his own church for testimony to the power of Jesus Christ to give pardon and peace to sinners. Quite needlessly does he encumber his argument with the mystical conceptions of the effectiveness of the sacraments in securing this restoration. While the work is hampered by the author's feeling that he must defend forms of statement and by his habit of thinking in dogmatic terminology he has given us a thoughtful and useful work. It is as good as can be done from the standpoint of defending an archaic creed with arguments founded in modern experience and thought.

That the result is satisfactory would be too much to assert. That the argument is sincere and able any candid reader must see.

W. O. Carver.

God's Message Through Modern Doubt. By Rev. E. Aldom French. London. 1908. Duckworth & Co. Pages ix+236. 2 shillings 6 pence.

There are many in England who are undertaking to defend or to modify Christianity in the face of a powerful and rather rampant skepticism. This author is one of the most frank, brave and practical this reviewer has met in his reading. He tells us in the preface that the idea expressed in his title "is that as skepticism is due to a misunderstanding of Christianity, its existence is a call to the church for restatement, explanation and new emphasis in its message". This explanation of skepticism is incomplete, but the threefold method of meeting it is comprehensive. To restate, to explain, to emphasize, not the dogma, but the message of Christianity; surely that has the accent of a conquering evangel. And our apologist in this

case is an evangelist. That is the true method. His book is a volume of sermons. He meets men's difficulties but he never fails to appeal to their conscience and to make moral demands on the will. His subjects are striking. Witness such as these: "The Recklessness of Providence", "The Irony of God", "Why Miracles do Not Happen Now", "The World as the Skeptic Would Make it", "The Virtue of Intolerance", "Can We Expect Christ's Second Coming To-day". The discourses are brief, well analyzed, direct, frank and deal with the problems of real men. They must have been effective in delivery and will do great good in their reading.

W. O. Carver.

Modern Belief in Immortality. By Newman Smyth. New York. 1910. Charles Scribner's Sons. Pages 95. Price 75 cents net.

In his lucid and flowing sentences Dr. Smyth has in this lecture summed up the situation for the hope of immortality in the light of current scientific thought. He has gone beyond this and made an argument for the future of the soul. The central feature of his argument is in personality and its survival value. He shows that there is nothing in physical science that can properly oppose this belief, and much to encourage it. He very properly sets little value in the professed communication from disembodied spirits. He works for rather more than its value the evolutionary argument and seems all too shy of recognizing the value of revelation for this hope of the soul.

W. O. Carver.

The Winning of Immortality. By Frederick Palmer, Author of "Studies in Theologic Definition", "The Drama of the Apocalypse", etc. New York. 1910. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. Pages xvii+216. Price $1.00 net.

Here we have a confident and optimistic study in immortality by a reverent Christian student who deals freely with all elements of the argument, whether from science, philosophy or the Scripture. For him none of these are more than materials for helping toward a final conclusion. In using the Bible he is

hampered by no theory of definite inspiration or of final authority. He can even reject a passage entire on grounds confessed wholly subjective and against all textual evidence. He feels no sort of obligation to seek unity in scriptural representations on his subject, but rather in the variety, contrariety and conflict of Biblical views does he find the way toward assured conclusions of his own. But in it all there is profound reverence and fervent enthusiasm for the spiritual.

He aims at securing on sufficient ground the hope of immortality, but at the same time so defining that immortality and its conditions as to leave no room for the eternal suffering of a personal being.

It is, as its title clearly suggests, an argument for conditional immortality—for immoratlity and for its conditionateness.

There are eight chapters. Three trace the doctrine through its development—or supposed development—in the Bible; one discusses "The Philosophic Grounds for the Belief in Immortality", in which are included the scientific grounds; three chapters treat of the doctrine in the history of Christianity in a way to contribute to the author's contention of conditionality; the final chapter undertakes to confute objections to "Immortality as an Acquisition". It must be said that the author deals very freely with the Bible and that his interpretations are often far form the original meaning. The work is very suggestive.

W. O. Carver.

Conscience and Criticism. By Goeffrey Hughes. London. 1909. Duckworth & Co. Pages xiv+296. Price 5 shillings net.

This is a timely work, reverently conceived, carefully elaborated, splendidly written. It may be characterized as a search after a firm basis for sufficient authority in religion: "It has been the first desire of the author in writing this book to lessen the unnecessary opposition which commonly manifests itself between those who radically are agreed in the Christian faith." So we read in the preface, but one must believe that the author has a truer purpose, namely: To discover and define the true

attitude toward the Bible in the midst of the insecurity awakened by the Higher Criticism. Several chapters outline with keen analysis the psychology of religious experience as concerns the intellect and the emotions. The finality of conscience as against mere reason is thus established. Then several chapters set forth a fresh, vigorous and original view of the authority of conscience in religion. The application of conscience to questions of criticism and scientific doubt concerning Christ and the Scriptures occupies several more chapters and completes the discussion.

One cannot always follow the writer in all his steps, but one finds stimulation and help all the way. Far more concession is made to scientific objection to miracle than is demanded by the argument or is wise, in fact. But it is good to find so strong a case for holding religious faith to be our deepest certainty, whereas, all else is only probability. "The sight of God, which is reason's last and highest effort, is of faith the first and most secure. Without hesitation let life go forward with its greater power." It would have been well if the author had seen the function of faith in all knowledge and so have avoided any basal breach between faith and reason.

One may not accept all the views of the author concerning the Bible, but will be helped by the searching analysis of the subject of Inspiration, and will feel that the author is right in concluding that "We may be outgrowing some knowledge of the past; but when man can truly affirm that he has outgrown the Bible, he will mean that he has found a better God than Perfect Love; that he knows a sronger remedy for the world, and that he has surpassed the character of Jesus Christ."

W. O. Carver.

Studies in Religion and Theology. The Church: in Idea and in History. By A. M. Fairbairn, M. A. Late Principal of Mansfield College. New York. 1910. The Macmillan Company. Pages xxxii+635. Price $3.50 net.

When a book comes with the name of Principal—alas! that the flowing years now compel us to say ex-Principal—Fair-

bairn, one knows that he has a volume of "studies", whether it be so named or not. It will be profound, clearly expressed, deliberately argued, stimulating one's thought, remarkably satisfying in its conclusions.

In his long and important relation to the Congregational churches of Great Britain Dr. Fairbairn had occasion to deliver several addresses dealing with the idea, functions and development of the church. Like the wise and diligent student he is, he made these addresses so to supplement each other, although prepared at long intervals, as together to constitute a treatise. This was elaborated and completed with further studies so that we have now this elaborate discussion of "the Church: in Idea and in History". Two chapters treat of the general nature and spirit of Christianity and its relation to the thought and life of the first century and the nineteenth century. Next the author reduces the conceptions of the church to two opposing views, which he designates the sacerdotal, which magnifies the church, and the Puritan which magnifies God. We must seek to present Christianity as Christ did, and this will lead to emphasis on the church as a free brotherhood, with no human priesthood, united for the promotion and realization of the Kingdom of Heaven. Thus the church is a means to an end. The significance of ecclesiastical polity for the religion of Christ is discussed fully and then it is shown how Christ's religion was developed historically into the Catholic church. Attempts to revive the religion of Christ produced various sects in accordance with varying emphasis and imperfect apprehension of the essence of that religion and of the relation of spirit and form in religion. Particular attention is given, here and there, to the natural and political aspects of the church.

In discussing the relation of Jesus to the founding of the church, Dr. Fairbairn discusses the nature of worship, illustrating from the worship of the Jews; treats of the ministry and disciples of Jesus; outlines His teaching in the three great periods of His ministry and shows emphatically the place and significance of "the cross" in His religion and church. The contri-

butions of Paul and of John to the ideas of Christianity and the church receive extensive and detailed exposition.

All in all we have here a notable contribution to the theory and history of the church, and of the function of Christianity.

W. O. Carver.

Christianity and the New Idealism. A Study in the Religious Philosophy of to-day. By Rudolf Eucken, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Jena. Awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1908. Translated by Lucy Judge Gibson, Classical and Oriental Triposes, Cambridge, and W. R. Boyce Gibson, M.A., (Oxon.), Examiner in Philosophy in the University of London, Author of "Rudolf Eucken's Philosophy of Life", etc. London and New York. 1909. Harper and Brothers. Volume in Harper's Library of Living Thought". Pages xiv+163. Price 75 cents net.

These lectures, first delivered in 1906, have attracted very wide attention. This translation is from the third edition, which has a fourth chapter added to the original three. This chapter on "The Conflict Over Christianity Today" was added to clarify the author's views and prevent the impression that his "views tally more closely than they really do with the traditional, ecclesiastical form of Christianity". The original lectures are of "Religion as Grounded in the Inner Life", "Religion and History", "What is Christianity".

It is no wonder that the work is popular among students of current religious problems. We find here a breadth of view, a keenness of analysis, an insight into essential values and inner realities, a discerning of tendencies and a power of distinguishing essentials and accidents that would be hard to surpass.

The perplexities and the seriousness of the religious situation in Chistendom could have no stronger statement than in this brief work. The author can afford to state difficulties strongly, for the reason that he feels firm the ground under his own feet. One need not to follow all his reasonings, particularly in his indifference to the historicity of the New Testament facts; but the stimulus of his bold thinking and serious grappling with the deeper problems of religion will do good to any thinking man who sees the perplexity of religious thought.

W. O. Carver.

II. BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Introduction to the Hebrew Bible. By Alfred S. Geden, M.A., D.D. Edinburgh. T. & T. Clark. 1909. Scribner's Sons, N. Y. Pages 367.

Though these "introductory" lectures of Doctor Geden make no pretension to exhaustiveness, on "a theme among the most unraveled that the human mind can essay to resolve", they are at once informing and stimulating. They are of especial value, rather as indicating the lines of necessary and profitable research today, than as discussing vexing details or giving critical "conclusions". If half a century ago it was upon the New Testament that attention was concentrated, and attack was directed, the position is altered today. It is the credibility and claims of the Old Testament that are now most keenly debated and most confidently called in question. The author of this volume sees signs, and points them out, that the return of the tide has already set in, and avows his conviction that the next quarter of a century will witness a significant rehabitation of the rights and authority of the books of the Old Testament, as religious and historical records second in value to none. He here makes no mean contribution toward that end.

GEO. B. EAGER.

Old Testament Miracles in the Light of the Gospels. By A. Allen Brockington, M.A. Edinburgh. T. & T. Clark. 1907. Scribner's Sons, N. Y. Pages 144. Price $1.00 net.

The merit of this little book is that the author makes a brave, earnest and within certain limits, an intelligent attempt to deal with the Old Testament miracles, not as isolated "wonders" or "prodigies", but as "signs", by bringing them into relation with God's general method of training his people in spiritual things, but above all, into connection with the revelation of Jesus Christ and the unfoldings of the New Testament.

There is much in this unaffected, popular treatment of the subject that will be found helpful to many people. It is as "signs" chiefly that John regards the miracles of Jesus, and may not a kindred way of regarding the miracles of the Exodus and other parts of the Old Testament help us to realize their true position and significance in the divine plan?

GEO. B. EAGER.

The New Testament in the Revised Version of 1881 with Fuller References. The Oxford University Press, New York. 1910. Pages 634.

There is more in this edition of the New Testament than the title implies. The references in Scrivner's Paragraph Bible form the basis of the system, but it was an implication of that in the Gospels. Dr. Scrivener and Dr. W. F. Moulton both died, but the work is at last brought to successful conclusion by Dr. A. W. Greenup and Dr. J. H. Moulton. The type is beautiful.

A. T. ROBERTSON.

Aspects of Christ. By W. B. Selbie, M.A., Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford. Hodder & Stoughton, New York and London. 1909. Pages 280.

This volume is a most welcome contribution from the new Principal of Mansfield College. The book is really a popular study of the New Testament picture of Christ. The opening chapter on "Historic Fact and Christian Doctrine" is an able and complete representation of the Ritschlian value-judgment as applied to Jesus. It is a defence of historic fact in connection with development. All that is true in modern Christianity ought to be implicit in Christ. The other chapters discuss in the same vein "The Christ of the Synoptic Gospels", "The Christ of St. Paul", "The Christ of St. John", "The Teaching of Christ about Himself", "The Christ of the Creeds", "The Christ of To-day", etc. Most of the chapters were delivered as addresses to the Emmanuel Congregational church, Cambridge, on Sunday evenings. The book as a whole is very helpful and suggestive, modern in tone and loyal to Jesus. Principal

Selbie comes to a great place as the successor of Principal Fairbairn. He bids fair to make a great place for himself.

A. T. Robertson.

The Earliest Sources for the Life of Jesus. By F. Crawford Burkitt, M.A., D.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. 1910. Pages 131. Price 50 cents net.

Prof. Burkitt is an expert in synoptic criticism and writes in this handbook with great ability and acuteness. He recognizes the priority of Mark and places Mark and Q as the two main sources of Matthew and Luke. Q is obtained in part from the agreement between Matthew and Luke. I do not think that Dr. Burkitt is disposed to do justice to the historical knowledge of Mark. The confusion in the matter of Abiathar the high priest (Mk. 2:26) is found in the text of the Old Testament (see Swete on Mk. 2:26). It is by no means as certain that Mark is in error as to the date of the last passover as Burkitt assumes. But the work is ably done.

A. T. Robertson.

The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate. A Series of Essays and Problems Concerning the Origin and Value of the Anonymous Writings Attributed to the Apostle John. By Benjamin Wisner Bacon, D.D. LL. D., Buckingham Professor of New Testament Criticism and Exegesis in Yale Uuiversity. Moffat, Yard & Co., New York. Pages 544. Price $4.00 net.

Prof. Bacon is in an apologetic frame of mind. He confesses to timidity (p. viii.) in going up against Lightfoot, Sanday and James Drummond on the Johannine Question. He is confident that his cause is just. One might think from the title that Professor Bacon enters the lists as an impartial investigator, but he is the rather a doughty champion of the Non-Johannine authorship. He does examine with microscopic care the external and internal evidence, but it is the evident purpose to find a case against the Johannine claims. Prof. Bacon is no mean antagonist, for he is thoroughly equipped and skillful in the use of his weapons. He knows how to stick

his blade into the joints of the armor of his opponent. But the total result of his very able and acute discussion is that a special pleader has done his best and has not succeeded. To carry his point, he insists, for instance, on the dismemberment of the Fourth Gospel, the displacement of its various sections, and the Redactor (R) is responsible for many things in the Gospel which point to Johannine authorship. This Redactor wishes himself, and probably the beloved disciple also, to be considered as the son of Zebedee (p. 308 f., 319). It is possible by such purely subjective criticism to prove anything. There is no question of Prof. Bacon's ability, but his mind is tangential at crucial moments and the argument consequently fails of conviction. He fails to do justice to the unity, coherence and power of the Fourth Gospel and the essential identity of the picture of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel with that of the Synoptics. Indeed he sets the two in "complete contrast" (p. 4). It is over-statement that vitiates the book There is a difference in terminology, but the fundamental difficulty is present in all four gospels, the deity of Jesus. That conception is not the product of Paul's logic nor of the Fourth Evangelist's philosophy.

A. T. Robertson.

Das Johannes-Evangelium als Quelle der Geschichte Jesu. Von Friedrich Spitta. Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, Goettingen, Germany. 1910. S. 466. Pr. 15M. Geb. 16M.

Books on the Gospel of John multiply. Wellhausen has produced a discussion, a fresh discussion by his epoch-making book as Spitta (S. V.) terms it (But see Caspar Rene Gregory's reply to Wellhausen). Bacon is attacking the Johannine authorship in America. Sanday and Drummond had given great strength to the traditional view in Britain. In Germany the lines were sharply drawn between Zahn and H. J. Holtzmann. Spitta (S. VIII) thinks that there is right and wrong on both sides. He rejects chapter 21 as a part of the original gospel and thinks it largely a version of Luke 5:1-11. But he is unwilling to reject the Fourth Gospel as a source for our

knowledge of Jesus. The present volume is not so much a criticism of the Johannine Question as a commentary with particular emphasis on the historicity of the various sections of the gospel. It is needless to say that the work is ably done. There is a translation of the Greek text, a good analysis of the contents of the gospel, constant quotation of the Greek text in the discussion, and keen criticism of the worth of each paragraph as Spitta sees it. Spitta's volume will have to be reckoned with in future discussions of the Johannine Question. He refuses to follow Wellhauzen and Schwartz in many points, though recognizing the value of their work on the Fourth Gospel. He holds that a redactor worked over the Gospel at various points cf. the resurrection of Lazarus (S. 248). Spitta is bold and outspoken in his views.

A. T. Robertson.

St. John's Portrait of Christ. By George Matheson, D.D. Hodder & Stoughton, London and New York. Pages 153. Price 1s.

The "Little Books on Religion" are edited by Sir W. Robertson Nicoll, LL.D. Dr. Matheson's acute spiritual discernment admirably equipped him for the discussion of the Fourth Gospel. To many minds there is real rapture of spirit in the picture drawn by Dr. Matheson. He is fanciful at times, but it is fancy lit by spiritual truth with the touch of genius. One catches a clearer and more helpful view of Christ as he follows the lead of Dr. Matheson.

A. T. Robertson.

Jesus or Paul? By Dr. Arnold Meyer, Professor of Theology in the University of Zurich. Translated by Rev. J. R. Wilkinson, Rector of Winford. Harper and Bros., London and New York. 1909. Pages 134. Price 2s 6d.

It is well that this volume is translated and appears in Harper's Library of Living Thought. In brief space Dr. Meyer puts his case against Paul as an interpreter of Jesus, as in a sense the perverter of the simple faith of Jesus. He

admits that Paul was a real liberator from Jewish ceremonialism and mediated Christ to men. He pointed the way to Jesus and to God. But Dr. Meyer denies the deity of Jesus and finds Paul a stumbling-block and explains "how Christianity has been hindered and encumbered by St. Paul" (p. 119). To my mind Dr. Meyer fails to understand both Paul and Jesus, but it is a good thing to have the radical German point of view set forth in straightforward fashion as it is here.

A. T. Robertson.

Paul and Paulinism. By James Moffatt, D.D., Author of the Historical New Testament. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. 1910. Pages 77. Price 50 cents net.

That is certainly a daring undertaking in so brief a compass. Dr. Moffatt is widely read and a man of great independence and insight. His views are always supported with force, even when erroneous. The sketch of "Paul" is not equal to the discussion of "Paulinism". The little book bristles with fresh suggestions that challenge investigation. It belongs to the series of "Modern Religious Problems" edited by Dr. A. W. Vernon.

A. T. Robertson.

Horae Synopticae. Contributions to the Study of the Synoptic Problem. By the Rev. Sir John C. Hawkins, Bart., M.A., D.D., Honorary Canon of St. Albans. Second Edition. Revised and Supplemented. The Clarendon Press, Oxford; Oxford University Press, New York. 1909. Pages 223. Price 10s 6d net.

It is eleven years since this remarkable book was first published. The changes made in the new edition are not very numerous, but they are worth making in a book which is so essential to every independent student of the Synoptic Problem. It is indeed remarkable that the positions of Dr. Hawkins have so well stood the test of criticism these years when discussion of the Synoptic Gospels has been so general and so severe. The new material he has added in "Additional Notes" here and there as on p. 213: "Additional Note on the Historic Present in the Septuagint" where he is able to make use of

Thackeray's Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek. The life and usefulness of this volume are still further guaranteed by the revision.

A. T. Robertson.

Paulus in Corinth. Neue Wege zum Verstandnis des Urchristentums. Von Lic. Carl Munzinger. Evangelischer Verlag, Hidelberg, Germany. 1908. S. 208. Pr. 2M. 75Pf.

The author attempts an independent treatment of Paul's life in Corinth. His chapters embrace "Paul on the Way to Corinth", "Paul in the Synagogue", "The Preaching", "The Effect of the Preaching", "The Spiritual Results", "The Origin of the Church". There is no doubt as to the author's diligence in working over this period of Paul's activity. He has produced a useful monograph which will be of service in the interpretation of 2 Corinthians, the unity of which is now so much disputed. It is vivid and forceful picture of the origin of the notable church in Corinth, and has had a fine reception in Germany.

A. T. Robertson.

The Apostles as Everyday Men. By President Robert Ellis Thompson S.T.D. The Sunday School Times Company, Philadelphia. Cloth. Pages 79.

This little book will repay the reading. It shows that Jesus chose men of various types to be apostles and that when He sent them out on tour, He paired men who were unlike and complementary. The characterizations are very interesting.

J. H. Farmer.

Simon Peter, Shepherd. By Francis Bourne Upham. New York. Eaton & Mains. Cloth. Pages 239. Price 75 cents net.

A dozen breezy sermons on striking topics. They contain a good deal of rugged common sense and some capital illustrations. But the author's geography is a bit off when, speaking of Jacob at Bethel, he says (p. 228) "behind him stretched a long line of gleaming sand". That might suit the Sahara

but scarcely the Mountain of Bethel, and what is one to think of the man's judgment of other's productions when as a proof of the fact that the Twelve were but average men, he declares "that the power of Pentecost could not make Peter even preach a sermon that Luke could find any life in when he came to report it". Most of us have felt that the insight, wisdom and strength of that address are so great as to prove that Peter was filled with the Spirit when he spoke.

J. H. Farmer.

The Apostle Peter. Outline Studies in His Life, Character and Writings. By W. H. Griffith-Thomas, B. D., Principal of Wycliffe Hall, Oxford. With a Photogravure Portrait of the Author. Second Edition. Religious Tract Society, 4 Bouverie Street, London, England. Pages 296. Price 2s 6d.

These "outline studies" are designed to be used with the Scripture in hand. They are very helpful for Bible classes. Is it not true that Simon Peter is not studied as much as he deserves?

A. T. Robertson.

The Master's Friendships. By J. R. Miller. T. Y. Crowell & Co., New York. Pages 26.

This devotional book belongs to the "Worth While Series" and is in the well-known style of Dr. Miller, tender and helpful.

A. T. Robertson.

The Tests of Life. A Study of the First Epistle of St. John. Being the Kerr Lectures for 1909. By Rev. Robert Law, B. D., Minister of Lauriston Place Church, Edinburgh. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh; Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York. 1909. Pages 421.

With Westcott, Plummer and Findlay the student of the epistles of John might seem to be sufficiently well supplied. But there is room for this book also. Mr. Law has not produced a conventional commentary. He has brief critical notes at the end on the text of Tischendorf (why not Westcott and Hort?), but the book as a whole is a topical treatment of the leading ideas of the First Epistle such as the Doctrine of

Christ, of God; the Doctrine of Sin, of Propitiation; Eternal Life; Its Test of Righteousness, of Love, of Belief, etc. Mr. Law is a busy pastor, but he is a student, also, and the present volume was delivered as a course of lectures before Glasgow College of the United Free Church of Scotland. There is a union of scholarship and practical application that one does not always find in a commentary. The author is keenly alert and writes with freshness and vigor.

A. T. Robertson.

Der Brief des Paulus an die Römer. Ausgelegt von D. Theodore Zahn, Professor der Theologie in Erlangen. 1. and 2. Auflage A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf., Leipzig, Germany. 1910. S. 622. Pr. 12.50m. Geb. 14m.

Zahn is the editor of this series (Kommentar Zum Neuen Testament) and the author of the volumes on Matthew, John, Romans, Galatians. That of itself is a decent product for an average man. But Zahn is not an ordinary man. His volume on the Canon, Introduction to the New Testament and various monographs make a small library. Each of his great books is encyclopaedic in character. One wonders each time if Zahn has not given his life to this particular theme. His scholarship is massive and comprehensive. In the present volume the introduction is rather slighted in view of the extensive discussion in his Einleitung (I, S. 108-116, 250-312), to which the reader is referred. In particular the unity and integrity of the epistle are passed by because of the extensive treatment there. But the exegesis is painstaking and exhaustive. There is abundant use of critical opinion, but the pages are not burdened with names of scholars as is sometimes true of Meyer. The linguistic discussions, which are very numerous, are put in the foot notes. There is constant use of the researches of Deissman. There is not the analytic sharpness so prominent in Sanday and Headlam, but much greater fulness of detail. The second edition has added to the value of this great commentary.

A. T. Robertson.

Messages from the Epistle to the Hebrews. By Handley C. G. Moule D.D., Bishop of Durham. Eliot Stock, Paternoster Row, London, England. 1909. Pages 120. Price 2s net.

Bishop Moule thinks that Paul probably gave his line of argument to a gifted prophet, who under the guidance of the Spirit, wrote the wonderful Epistle to the Hebrews. That is possible—who knows? But, apart from that point, we have thirteen delightful expositions by the gifted Bishop of Durham whose "Ephesian Studies" and other volumes have so delighted thousands. His books are scholarly, simple, clear, interesting, devotional and greatly helpful. The present volume is somewhat briefer than the others, but it contains the heart of the message of "Hebrews".

A. T. Robertson.

The Zodia or The Cherurbim in the Bible and the Cherurbim in the Sky. Pages xv+376. Price 6 shillings.

The Mystery of Three. A Bible Study. Pages viii+157. Price 3s. 6d.

The Mystery of Seven. A study of Silent Analogues in Scripture. Pages x+161. Price 2s. 6d. All by E. M. Smith. Published by Elliot Stock, London, in 1906, 1907, 1908 respectively.

These three works, the first finely illustrated with pictures and charts, deal with the mystic in Christianity, particularly in the Christian Scriptures. Such as delight in that sort of thing will find here very fine reading. These are no ordinary works by some one who has a mere fancy backed up by no knowledge. The author is manifestly a gentleman of learning, culture and full information. He writes with enthusiasm and uses his material to good advantage. There are many who will find these studies confirmatory of their faith in the divine origin of the Scriptures; many who will find occult wisdom in them and yet others will find entertainment where they cannot find profit, because they will account as accidental or incidental and so fanciful and superficial the facts here set forth in all

goodly seriousness. The first of these books is really a very learned production.

W. O. Carver.

III. CHURCH HISTORY.

Die ersten Wanderprediger Frankreichs. Studien zur Geschichte des Mönchtums von Johannes von Walter, Privatdozenten der Theologie zu Göttingen. Neue Folge. Leipzig. A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf. 1906. S. 179. Price 4.80m.

An element in the great religious revival which began in the Latin church about the middle of the eleventh century, was a body of wandering preachers, especially in France They rose in apparent independence of each other out of the religious ferment of the times. They were monks, largely, who had been trained in the newly reformed monasteries. They form a very interesting group of religious workers. Some of them were loyal to the church, others were more or less hostile; but all were powerful preachers of righteousness, repentance and a renewed life. Five of these preachers are treated in the small volume under review; the first three at some length. They are Bernhard, of Thiron; Vitalis, of Savigmy; Girald, of Salles; Norbert, of Xanten, and Henry, of Lausanne. The sources are critically investigated and the presentation is clear and careful.

W. J. McGlothlin.

Crete the Forerunner of Greece. By Charles Henry Hawes and Harriet Boyd Hawes. With a Preface by A. J. Evans. Harper Bros. London and New York. 1909. Price 2s 6d.

Interest in the Island of Crete is now very keen since the discoveries of Mr. Evans and others. In this handbook the new knowledge can be obtained in the most convenient form. We know that Greece is not so much of a mystery. Crete preceded Greece and passed on the torch of civilizatian. What was once mystic is now fact. The book is just what was needed.

A. T. Robertson.

Fowler, Wheeler and Stevens. A Handbook of Greek Archaeology. The American Book Co., Cincinnati. 1909. Pages 559.

Mr. Graham Phillips Stevens, for two years Fellow in Architecture at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, has written the chapter on Architecture. Prof. J. R. Wheeler, of Columbia University, has done the chapters on Vases and Paintings and Prof. H. N. Fowler, of Western Reserve University, has written the rest. The book is rich in beautiful illustrations that show the history of Greek art in a most fascinating way. The work is the result of the most recent discoveries and the authors have made use of the best German, French and English works in order to produce their most useful hand-book. It is helpful to the student and interesting to the general reader.

A. T. Robertson.

Die Kirche Deutschlands im neunzehnten Jahrhundert.. Eine Einführung in die religiösen, theologischen und kirchlichen Fragen der Gegenwart. Von Reinhold Seeberg. Dritte vielfach verbesserte und erweiterte Auflage. Leipzig. A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf. 1910. Pages 425. Price 7.20M.

This work has had a rather remarkable history. Toward the close of the nineteenth century it appeared under the title, *"An der Schwelle des zwanzigsten Jahrunderts"* and in that form ran through three editions. In 1903, when a fourth edition was called for, the author reworked and enlarged the book and changed the title to *"Die Kirche Deutchlands im neunzehnten Jahrhundert"*. The third edition of this work now appears, improved and enlarged. The purpose of the author as stated by himself was "to compose a historical introduction into the life and the work of the church and of the theology of the present, which would meet the needs not only of theologians, but also of historians, philosophers, jurists and politicians, as well as of all other cultivated Christians". For this reason constant attention was given to the close "relation of church history with the broad stream of general scientific, esthetic, national and cultural development". It

was intended to be a popular, readable and yet accurate and comprehensive history of Christianity in Germany from the beginning of the nineteenth century until the present time. That the work has met the needs of a large body of readers is shown by the very large sale which it has had. It is written from the standpoint of a churchman of conservative tendencies and religious sympathies. The author has striven to treat the subject in a thoroughly objective fashion, giving not what might or ought to have occurred, but what did occur. One might place the emphasis differently here and there and sometimes wishes to know much more than is given; but the work is full enough for all practical purposes and is decidedly the most satisfactory work of the kind with which the reviewer is acquainted. What would one give for such a history of Christianity in each of the great countries for the period of the last century?

W. J. McGlothlin.

The Two Empires, The Church and the World. By the Late Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D., D. C. L. Bishop of Durham. Sometime Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. The Macmillan Co., New York. 1909. Pages 352.

The appearance of a new book by Bishop Westcott is an event of the first interest, even though it appears so long after his death. As is well known the chief literary work of the distinguished author was in connection with the New Testament. But in the earlier years of his professorship at Cambridge he also lectured on Church History, this fact no doubt, accounting in a large measure for the character of his later work. The sketches of some of these lectures on the early centuries have at length been collected, filled out and published by the Bishop's son, A. Westcott. The title, "The Two Empires", describes the nature of the contents with a fair degree of accuracy. The book begins with a critical estimate of the work of Eusebius, the first great church historian, and gives to him a high place in the history of the science. It then traces the relation between organized Christianity and the Roman Empire down to the council of Nicæa when persecution had ceased

and Christianity was being taken into the favor of the state. It is marked by the same careful and scholarly interpretation and weighing of evidence which characterizes his biblical work. When one has read the careful criticism and interpretation of documents he feels as if he has well nigh reached finality. He shows how the empire could scarcely escape persecuting the Christians without nullifying its own laws. There is at the same time the profoundest sympathy for the heroic resistance and the staunch orthodoxy of the Christians. Altogether it is a very valuable contribution to the literature of early Christian history and will take its place alongside the great works of Ramsay, Bigg and others which deal with the same subject.

W. J. McGlothlin.

The Story of the Jewish People. Being a History of the Jewish People since Bible Times, with Maps and numerous Illustrations, in two volumes. By Jack M. Myers. With a Prefatory Note by the very Rev. The Chief Rabbi. Vol. I. New York. Bloch Publishing Co. Pages 228.

The title of this work is thoroughly descriptive of its contents. It is a story, related in simple and popular language, of the Jewish people, beginning at the close of the Old Testament canon. The author is a Jew and of course sees things from the Jewish standpoint. He is particularly well acquainted with the details of the inner daily life of the people and devotes much space to this phase of his subject. He undertakes to show one just how the Jew lived, worked and worshiped. He has therefore made a helpful book for Christians as well as Jews; for to understand the New Testament one must know what is behind the New Testament.

W. J. McGlothlin.

V. RELIGION AND MISSIONS.

Korea in Transition. By James S. Gale, New York. Young People's Missionary Movement of the United States and Canada. 1909 Pages xi+270. Price 50 cents.

This is one of the mission study text-books. Korea is at the moment the picturesque and romantic mission field; Dr. Gale is at once a profound student, a remarkably versatile and resourceful missionary and a master of literary description; the book is illumined by three dozen illustrations, and its scientific value enhanced by a map and appendices; all of which contribute to make this one of the most fascinating and helpful of all publications of this movement. W. O. CARVER.

Bolenge. A Story of Gospel Triumphs on the Congo. By Mrs. Royal J. Dye. Foreign Missionary Society, Cinicinnati. 1909. Pages 225.

Mission work in the heart of Africa is grappling at first hand with the hardest problem of making Christian character and civilization out of the crudest material. The difficulties are almost incomprehensible, the results marvelous and inspiring.

After a decade of faithful service the author has the knowledge needful for an accurate account of conditions and work in this mission. Her work shows also that she has the artistic skill and the optimistic enthusiasm needful for one of the most realistic, thrilling, instructive and every way skillful and useful accounts of such work anywhere to be found. Splendid photograph illustrations add to the value of the work.

W. O. CARVER.

The Upward Path: The Evolution of a Race. By Mary Helm, New York. 1909. Young People's Missionary Movement; to be had also of Foreign Mission Board, Richmond, Va. Pages 330. Price 50 cents.

This is the young people's title and edition of the author's *From Darkness to Light,* prepared for the women's study

course. The editions differ chiefly in form and illustration. Good illustrations and highly valuable appendices and an introduction by Rev. John E. White, D.D., are useful features.

To tell the story of the Negro in America is a delicate and difficult task. To be faithful to facts and yet offend neither the ignorant and doctrinaire friend on the one hand nor the sensible Southerners who by force of circumstances have suffered and inflicted wrongs by reason of the Negro, is not easy. It ought to be obvious that the religious is the only hopeful approach thus, and in the spirit of Christian fellowship leaves little to be asked in the method of dealing with the subject.

The sub-title, "The Evolution of a Race", is significant also. Only from this standpoint can the present position and condition of the American Negro be understood and interpreted. The comparison, and the contrast, with the Negro in Africa is the first step, the weighing of each characteristic and condition in the light of the principles of religious evolution under Christian impulse and effort is the process by which hope enters the problem and fills it with a seasoned, healthy optimism. Such are the standpoint and method of this work. It is brief and may be open to suggestive criticism here or there, but it is a truly notable work and will add immensely to a true knowledge of the Negro and to helpfulness in the journey along "the upward path." W. O. Carver.

South America: Its Missionary Problems. By Bishop Thomas B. Neeley New York. 1909. Young People's Missionary Movement; to be had of the Foreign Mission Board, Richmond, Va. Pages x+312. Price 50 cents.

The story of South America's natural resources, political history, religious and social condition, missionary need and opportunity is one of the most engaging the world has to offer today. In this volume that story has been told with condensed fullness and charm such as ought to make this one of the most popular and useful of all "study courses".

Beautiful illustrations, good maps, an instructive chart, sug-

gestive questions, a full bibliography, a convenient index add to the value and attractiveness of the little volume.

W. O. Carver.

The History of the London Society For Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews From 1809 to 1908. By Rev. W. T. Gidney, M.A., Secretary of the Society, Author of "Missions to the Jews", "Sites and Scenes", "At Home and Abroad", etc., etc. London. 1908. Published by the Society. Pages xxxii+672.

An adequate review of this large centenary volume would involve a discussion of the whole problem of Jewish evangelization with its many vexatious, as well as some encouraging, phases. The author has long been known as a foremost authority for the condition of the Jews in the world and for the efforts of Christians to win them to the acceptance of their Christ. It was a stupendous task when Mr. Gidney undertook to write the story of a hundred years of this society which has disbursed some fourteen millions of dollars and engaged many laborers in all Europe, Western Asia and Northern Africa in this work. No effort is made to tabulate results in any definite and complete way, but it is estimated that nearly a quarter of a million converts were "baptized" in the century. Presumably this estimate is meant to include children of Christian-Jewish parents, however many generations they may have been identified with Gentile churches. Even so it is no mean result.

The author has divided the century into ten periods, but not by the arbitrary method of decades. He has rather sought to make epochal periods, though in one or two instances possibly influenced by the thought that the length of discussion called for a new start and so indicated a new period. So far as one may judge, the material is handled with discrimination and faithfulness. The difficulties and misunderstandings that seem to inhere in organizations for Jewish missions are not concealed, but are never paraded nor told for their own sake.

Introductory chapters sketch efforts throughout the Christian era to evangelize the Jews and give an account of the his-

tory of the Jews in England. A chronological table and an elaborate index are of great value. We find also elaborate analyses of chapters, although here the work is mechanical and less satisfactory.

The British way of humiliating recognition of the patronage of "The Church" and of "The Aristocracy" is too evident for democratic tastes.

The society and its able and devoted secretary have rendered notable service to all who are interested in Jewish evangelization in this volume, and its reading ought to extend greatly the interest in the Jews and their salvation. A much shorter history would be more useful. W. O. Carver.

Reminiscences of My Life in Persia. By Mary Jewett, with Introduction by Robert E. Speer, Cedar Rapids, Ia. 1909. The Torch Press. Pages 187. Price $1.10.

Miss Jewett was for thirty-six years a toiler in the Presbyterian missions in Persia, in Urmia, Tabriz and many other places for shorter periods. She was one of those wide-awake, sympathetic, optimistic missionaries to whom is given a saving sense of humor that relieves the spirits worn with work and weighed with sights and sounds of sin and suffering.

Compelled after this long period of successful service to spend her remaining years in America, she began responding to the many requests to tell of Persia to various audiences. Then she wrote down the main features of her story and we have them in this book. A very readable book it is. The author has the good sense to discern what people want to know and need to know about Persia and its evangelization. She has a gift at crowding a remarkable amount of information into a few sentences without overloading them or making them unattractive. So she tells us of the people, the country, the religion, the history, the social life, the good qualities and the vicious principles, the kind deeds and the bad practices that make up the common life of the folks. We learn the methods of the missionaries, travel with them, hear and see them in all

phases of their work. And we have sketches and photographs of some of the characteristic converts.

It is unfortunate that the proof-reading was not better. It is particularly annoying to come so frequently upon Christians spelled in lower case. The book is delightful and useful for children or adults, for study or casual reading.

W. O. CARVER.

Times of Blessing in Manchuria. By Rev. J. Webster. Second Edition. Shanghai. 1908. Methodist Publishing House. Pages 78.

A Modern Pentecost in South China. By William Nesbit Brewster, Shanghai. 1909. Methodist Publishing House. Pages 63.

These two pamphlets are stories of the remarkable revivals in the East. The first is of rather stormy, physically violent and pathological demonstrations in Manchuria two years ago among the various Presbyterian churches. The other tells us of the more quiet, more moral, but no less effective demonstration among the Methodist churches in South China a year after the Manchurian revival. Both are remarkable and beyond the comprehension of the man who would study them as "natural" demonstrations. Such revivals are explicable only on the same grounds as similar demonstrations recorded in the Acts by Luke. Korea presents the marvel of modern religious manifestation. The Manchurian revival, as reported in these letters of Mr. Webster, was very similar in form to that in Korea, and depended rather remarkably on reports of the Korean awakening for its own kindling. The work in South China, as told by Mr. Brewster, is far nearer free, original and direct than that of Manchuria.

For both one can only thank God in amazed gratitude. The reading of these stories will kindle the faith and hope of hearts at home as well as of toiling missionaries abroad.

One rather surprising feature in both stories is the sinful and mythical practices and ideas that remain in the best of heathen converts. One is reminded of Paul's plain "and such

were some of you", and of his blunt injunction that the thief in the church shall leave off his stealing. We see the problem of the heathen-Christian church. W. O. CARVER.

Men and Missions. By William T. Ellis, with a Foreword by John B. Sleman, Jr., Founder of the Laymen's Missionary Movement, and with a Statistical and Historical Appendix Compiled by Abigail J. Davies, Philadelphia. The Sunday School Times Company. 1909. Pages 315. Price $1.00 net.

Mr. Ellis is one of the best known exponents and advocates of the new and expanding interest in foreign missions. A trained newspaper correspondent, he was sent abroad by a syndicate to observe the missionaries in all lands and report faithfully and fearlessly the truth concerning them and their work. He went, he saw and he was conquered in his whole spirit for this greatest of all causes. To him in very great measures is due the new attitude of the secular press toward the serious business of evangelizing the world, a business until now either ignored or ridiculed or treated lightly by nearly all the daily papers.

Upon Mr. Ellis' return to America he was frequently called upon to make addresses, and thus there came to him the wish "to make a handbook for the average layman". As such we can commend this work heartily. For the scientific student, even for the thoroughly informed pastor his work will not be new or original. The author would hardly miss these two classes, however, if they left his audience. For this same "average layman" on whom must depend the success of missions this book will be a fresh, frank, fairly complete and soundly convincing work. There is no indiscriminate idealizing of the missionary. His faults, his failures, his triumphs, his true character and mission are well set forth. The nature of the task, its opportunities and its appeal to the best in a Christian man are well presented. The usual criticisms and censures of missions are discussed with more patience and consideration than the preacher usually shows, and with more intelligence. This work is important. W. O. CARVER.

The Apologetic of Modern Missions. Outline Studies. By J. Lovell Murray, M.A., New York. Student Volunteer Movement. 1909. Pages 80. Paper 35 cents.

There are eight of these "outline studies" dealing with "1. Criticisms of the Idea of Foreign Missions. 2. Criticisms of the Life and Qualifications of the Missionary. 3. Criticisms of the Methods and Practices of Missions. 4. Criticisms of the Results of Missions." The method is that of induction by means of pointed questions with facts cited, opinions quoted and literature specifically listed. Mr. Murray takes up with frank fearlessness the various lines of criticism. He refers to the literature of attack as well as defense, cites magazines as well as books. A good bibliography is appended. It is really remarkable for the comprehensive thoroughness with which it outlines the subject. No study class need undertake it unless willing to work, but if thus willing this will prove a most stimulating and fruitful study guide. W. O. Carver.

The Evangelical Invasion of Brazil: or A Half Century of Evangelical Missions in the Land of the Southern Cross. By Samuel R. Gammon, D.D., for twenty years Missionary of the Southern Presbyterian Church in Brazil. Richmond, Va. 1910. The Presbyterian Committee of Publication. Pages 179. Price 75 cents postpaid.

1909 being the semi-centennial year of the Presbyterian missionary work in Brazil, it is fitting that a study of Brazil as a mission field should be presented in the light of the history. It is gratifying that American Christians are at last taking extensive interest in South America and that we are getting some literature that will inform us of the needs and promise of this so long "neglected continent".

Dr. Gammon's book falls readily into four sections: History of Brazil, Political and Religious; Catholicism and the Right of Protestant Missions to Catholic Countries; History of Mission Work in Brazil; The Appeal of Brazil to American Christianity. Of course in so small a compass these four subjects can be treated only in outline but the work is very well done and the effort is made to deal fairly by all interests and parties.

There are some good pictures and three appendices. The proof-reader was guilty of many slips. The work is a good one.

W. O. Carver.

China and the Far East. Clark University Lectures. Edited by George H. Blakeslee, head of the Department of History, Clark University, New York. 1910. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. Pages xii+455. Price $2.00 net. Postage 20 cents.

For the decennial celebration of the founding of Clark University last year each department of the University arranged for a sort of conference of specialists, who discussed various phases of some topic of special interest in the department. This volume presents the more elaborate and formal of the addresses upon China and the Far East. Besides an Introduction by the editor, the head professor in history, there are twenty-two addresses all of vital importance for studying the situation in the East. They cover the range of politics, national and international, social customs and evolution, religion and the influence of missions. The lecturers are men of first-class qualifications for their subjects, for the most part, and a notable volume is the result.

It would not be possible in this review to discuss the lectures in detail and one hesitates to select among them. By grouping lectures closely related we have such subjects as China's Political Condition and her Relation to Other Powers; Commercial Development and Relations of China; Military Condition and Prospects in China; Missionary Conditions, Work and Prospects in China; China's Education. Six chapters are devoted to Japan and Korea and one to Hawaii.

Some of the lectures seem to have been reported stenographically and not to have received needed editing afterward.

The volume is to be commended to all who would know China, and no country in the world just now deserves more to be known by all who are interested in the immediate and the ultimate future of the world.

W. O. Carver.

Personal Religion in Egypt Before Christianity. By W. M. Flinders Petrie, D. C. L., LL.D., F. R. S., F. B. A., Author of "Religion and Conscience", "Religion of Ancient Egypt", etc. New York. 1909. Harper and Brothers. Pages ix+174. Price 75 cents net.

This is one of the volumes in the Harper's "Library of Living Thought". The subject is not very definitely suggestive, nor is its fitness very evident upon reading the book. The work may be described as an effort to indicate "what ideas were already a part of the general religious thought and phraseology of serious persons in the first century", and which thus both prepared the way for and serve to guide in the interpretation of the New Testament religious teaching. The author holds, quite erroneously, that "the current literature of the time was as naturally taken for granted by Christians as were the books of the Old Testament and Apocrypha, which were also familiar to them". Quite erroneously, that is, if he means to affirm, as apparently he does, that the early Christians placed the Old Testament, the Apocrypha, and current religious writings all on a par and assumed divine revelation in all of them.

The writings selected for exposition by our author are Hermetic writings, which he dates all the way from 500 B. C. to 100 A. D.; Plutarch; and Apollonios. He finds it possible to date one large section of the Hermetic writings by means of certain references, while a second body are undatable save for the nature of the religious idea contained in them. The work of Plutarch and Apollonios, together with the accounts of the Ascetics of the first half of the first Christian century, show a general development of thought which has a loose and incidental connection with the New Testament phraseology and thought. But the very line of development by which Professor Petrie would seem to explain much of the New Testament religion illustrates far more distinctly the exceptional quality of the New Testament thought.

Two chapters of our work set forth an analysis of the psychology of religious experience, summing up the views of Prof. James' "Varieties of Religious Experience". Two chapters deal with the Hermetic writings, with an intervening chapter

on "The Ascetics". Plutarch and Apollonios receive one chapter each. The final chapter, three pages, gives a "Summary".

There is much learning and ingenuity in the work in dating the writings, in comparing their teachings and in referring them to their sources in Greek, Egyptian, Hebrew and Indian thought and institutions. It must be said that Prof. Petrie's conclusions are very different from those of other Egyptologists—Naville for example—and one is not convinced that he is correct.

W. O. Carver.

Christianity and Islam. By C. H. Becker, Ph.D., Professor of Oriental History in the Colonial Institute of Hamburg. Translated by Rev. H. J. Chayter, M.A., Headmaster of Plymouth College, London and New York. 1909. Harper and Brothers. Volume in "Harper's Library of Living Thought". Pages viii+114. Price 75 cents net.

The comparison of Christianity and Islam here instituted covers the influences of Christianity to be found in the rise of Islam, the mutual influences arising out of and attested by "the similarity of Christian and Mohammedan metaphysics during the Middle Ages", and, finally, the influence of Islam upon Christianity. The author has some new theories touching the interaction and developments of these two religions, and has written a highly suggestive and stimulating work. He is not free from the fault of subjectivism. He sometimes writes his history by the logic of reason rather than by the observation of fact; and he is doctrinaire in some of his contentions. But his book is valuable because of its new ideas.

W. O. Carver.

The Transmigration of Souls. By D. Alfred Bertholet, Professor of Theology in the University of Basle. Translated by Rev. H. J. Chayter, M.A., Headmaster of Plymouth College. London and New York. 1909. Harper and Brothers. Volume in "Harper's Library of Living Thought". Pages viii+133. Price 75 cents net.

The author calls this a "brief review of the systems under which the doctrine of metempsychosis has been formulatted in

the course of history". There are two "Parts"—the first discussing the ideas that must underlie, as assumptions, the belief in transmigration; while the second traces the belief among the various peoples and in the various religions of the world. It is a highly interesting study and the presentation is at once scientific and popular.

W. O. CARVER.

The Religion of the Future. By Charles W. Eliot. Boston. 1909. John W. Luce. Pages 63.

This lecture of the distinguished, even famous, Dr. Eliot, was delivered at the close of the "Harvard Summer School of Theology" July 22, 1909. It has attracted the widest notoriety in this country and has been criticised in all quarters. Any one who wishes to know what "Dr. Eliot's New Religion" is should get this neat little volume and read it at first hand. The author recognizes that his religion is not "new" in any absolute sense. He even affects to believe that it is in harmony with the teachings of Jesus, although it is hard to see how any one could think this. The simple truth is that the distinguished author went quite outside the limits of his preparation or previous position when he undertook the role of a prophet of religion. He has given us a splendid literary production and some sound moral reflections, but as a teacher of religion he is out of his element and cuts a sorry figure. Some fuller knowledge of the history, the psychology and the philosophy of religion would have prepared him for a far more rational statement of the case.

W. O. CARVER.

Bartholomew De Las Casas, His Life, His Apostolate, and His Writings. By Francis Augustus MacNutt. With Portraits and Map. G. P. Putman's Sons, New York. 1909. Pages 472.

At last we have an adequate Life of Las Casas, "the Apostle of Indies", written from the sources, with ample knowledge, the historic spirit and a good style. Few lives are more worthy of study. Born of an old distinguished family in Seville in

1474, he was educated at the University of Salamanca and in 1502 came out to the West Indies as a colonist and planter. He was one of a great stream of Spaniards who came to seek fortunes in the New World. Their greed for gold led to the enslavement of the Indians, who were put to the heaviest and most degrading labor in the mines and on the plantations. Thousands and even hundreds of thousands died under this cruel treatment. Goaded into madness by their sufferings they repeatedly rose in hopeless rebellion only to be butchered by the more skillful and better equipped Spaniards. For some ten years Las Casas lived much as other Spaniards, owning and working Indian slaves. Then his eyes were opened to the enormities of the situation, and the rest of his long life was spent in constant and determined efforts to obtain the release of the Indians from the intolerable conditions which were destroying them. The Franciscan and Dominican Monks were the steady friends of the Indians, and it was a member of the latter order that led Las Casas to give up his slaves. Henceforth he preached against slavery of the Indians, besought the various colonial governments on their behalf, visited Spain six or seven times in their interest. The Spanish governments of Ferdinand, Charles and Philip all sympathized with his views and made repeated efforts to improve conditions in the new world; but distance, the greed of the colonists and the venality of officials rendered all reformatory measures largely inoperative. The colonists were in America for money; the sufferings of the poor red men were not considered. Las Casas was hated by the colonists with a fierceness that repeatedly brought his life into danger. On the other hand the Indians loved and trusted him as no other man in America. His voice was heard in their behalf in Cuba and all West Indian Islands, in Mexico and Central America, and in South America as far as Peru. He failed to obtain their freedom, but his work was not wholly vain. The worst features of the system were gradually eliminated.

In a moment of anguish and weakness he gave his approval to the importation of Negro slaves into these regions as

laborers in place of the Indians, who were perishing so rapidly. Negro slavery was legal in Spain and it was but the extension to the colonies of an institution already in existence in the mother country. Moreover, the fact that the Negroes were better able to endure the hardships, commended it to him. Nevertheless he later bitterly lamented his action in approving the scheme, seeing that it was as unjust to the Negroes as the existing system was to the Indians. Robertson and other historians have charged that Las Casas introduced Negro slavery in America. The author shows this to be untrue and clearly vindicates the good name of Las Casas (pp. 99ff.).

Worn out with his struggle and deeply disappointed, he united with the Dominican order in 1522, and for some years lived in retirement. When he again took up his great work he had the powerful support of his order. In addition to his efforts on behalf of the freedom of the Indians, he and his brother friars devoted themselves to efforts for their conversion and civilization, and in some cases with remarkable success.

His indictment of Spanish cruelty and misrule is one of the most terrible in history. The author has published in an appendix the "Brevissima-Relacion" and other documents which give in some detail the horrible cruelties perpetrated on these poor natives in all the various Spanish provinces. The story is sickening. Whole provinces which supported a numerous population at the coming of the Spaniards, were completely depopulated in an incredibly short time. In one of the appeals of his later life he speaks like a prophet, declaring "the injuries and loss which have befallen the Crown of Castile and Leon will be visited likewise on all Spain, because the tyranny wrought by their devastations, massacres, and slaughters is so monstrous that the blind may see it, the deaf hear it, and the dumb recount it, while after our brief existence, the wise will judge and condemn it. . . . For these reasons, God will punish Spain and all her people with inevitable severity" (pp. 291f). He fell asleep in 1566.

Las Casas' was a great and heroic life, devoted to missionary endeavor among a very backward race and to the reform of

the most crying abuse of the age. It is well to have the story told afresh and so well.

W. J. McGLOTHLIN.

Le Culte des Saints Musulmans dans l'Afrique du Nord et plus spicialement an Maroc. Par Edward Montet, Professeur a la Faculte de Theologie. Avec 10 Illustrations. Mèmoire publié à l'occasion du Jubilé de l'Universite. 1559-1909. Genève, Swisse. 1909. Pages 86.

This beautiful booklet is Professor Moulet's contribution to the celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of the University of Geneva. The pictures and the descriptions of Mohammedan worship in North Africa are very interesting and suggestive.

A. T. ROBERTSON.

The Old Egyptian Faith. By Edward Naville, Hon. D.C.L., LL.D., Ph.D., Litt. D., Hon. F. S. A., Correspondent of the Institute of France; Foreign Member of the Hungarian Academy of Science; Fellow of King's College, London; Professor of Egyptology at the University of Geneva. Translated by Colin Campbell, M.A., D.D., Minister of Dundee Parish. Author of "The Gardner's Tomb at Thebes", "Two Theban Queens", "Critical Studies in St. Luke's Gospel", "The Frist Three Gospels in Greek", etc. New York. 1909. G. P. Putman's Sons. Vol. XXX in the "Crown Theological Library. Pages xx+321.

This volume is one of popular lectures, but is still scientific and aims to be accurate. Of course no one can be sure of all his facts in dealing with religion among the ancients. Professor Naville is one of the foremost guides in the interpretation of the life of ancient Egypt. No religion of the ancient world was more spiritual or more fascinating than that of the Egyptians, and the main features of that religion are here presented in charming style and illustrated with numerous photographic reproductions. Nothing better could be found for the average reader who would acquaint himself with the religious life when that life was at its richest in ancient times.

W. O. CARVER.

VI. PRACTICAL.

Satan. By Lewis Sperry Chafer. New York, 1909. Gospel Publishing House. Pages 163.

In a "Foreword" Dr. C. I. Scofield highly commends this work and wishes "that all believers, and especially all ministers and Christian workers, might in some way be led to read it". The author tells us that his message is especially to believers, "knowing that this body of truth will be wholly unnoticed or rejected by the Satan-blinded world". Accordingly the authority of the Scriptures is accepted without question, no other evidence is adduced, as this alone is final, the existence of Satan is assumed, just as it is in all the Bible.

Dr. Scofield also tells us that he knows of "no other book on Satan in which the dispensational aspects of the subject are so clearly stated nor any other so severely Biblical". The author indicates what we may expect when he says. "Scripture reveals a detailed description of the person and career of Satan; beginning with his creation; his original condition; his fall, and on to his kingdom with all its developments, and his final defeat and banishment." This is discouraging, for one has not in all his reading found such detailed descriptions of all the aspects and history of Satan and his work in the Bible. But we have not far to go to see where our trouble has been. We had been warned already that "the teachings of Scripture on this important subject are but little understood". This is at once evident when we begin our book. For at once we find that between Gen. 1:1 and 1:2 there is a great break. Verse 1 tells how God made a "perfect creation of the heavens and the earth" which Satan went to work on with the result of a formless and void waste pictured in verse 2. Next we learn assuredly that "The King of Tyrus" in Ezek. 28:11-19, is "evidently" Satan, and Isa. 14:12-20 gives us a further description. Moreover Saul is a type of Satan and we can study Satan in him. Now we are utterly discouraged.

One of the weaknesses and vices of our age is that we have largely banished the personal devil from our theology and especially from our practical theology. In thought we have slain the devil, but in the life of humanity he is ascendant as in ages past. The table of contents of this book led to the hope that it might do something to cause men to take fresh account of the nature of our spiritual warfare. It will not be wholly lacking in such service if one can read it selectively. But the manner in which it uses the Bible as if it were a set of puzzle blocks to be put together with cunning skill to spell out its story by some one who had gotten the key to the secret meaning of the parts and of their curious adjustment, this balks us and drives us away. If the Bible was given for a secret code to a few among men this prophet may be its interpreter. If it was given to reveal the Light of the World, the plain man may run and read. But cabalistic priest and preaching prophet had both best take account of Satan and his wiles.

W. O. Carver.

Thinking Above What is Written, or The Exaltation of Human Wisdom Above the Word of God: The Devil's Righteousness, or Cain Came to Town Again. Jericho Theology. Three Pamphlets by I. M. Haldeman, D.D., Pastor First Baptist Church, New York City. New York. 1910. Charles C. Cook. Price 10 cents each.

These pamphlets are in Dr. Haldeman's vigorous style, filled with intense earnestness, enthusiastic clamor for orthodoxy and untempered denunciation of heresy. Their purpose is good. They are not as discriminating as one could wish. The author has written a large number of tracts of similar sort attacking current heresies and such notions and movements as seem to him harmful to the Gospel of Jesus Christ; and there seems to be a large demand for them.

W. O. Carver.

The Fatal Barter, and Other Sermons. By William L. Watkinson, D.D., LL.D., Author of "The Blind Spot," "The Supreme Conquest", etc. Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. 1909.

Dr. Watkinson is a strong preacher, and these are sermons

of a high order. The volume takes the title of the first sermon, which is a strong argument in favor of the reality of the divine revelation. The thought is solid, the style dignified and vigorous, though lacking somewhat in grace and beauty. The appeal is to the head more than to the heart, although the devotional element is not altogether wanting. Dr. Watkinson is quite strong in his logical arrangement of his discourses. In this respect he is almost a model. He numbers his divisions, but the "points of his armor" are not unpleasantly obtrusive, and he generally finds an effective plan for the discourse. The volume is excellent for its thought and teaching, and even more so in its strictly homiletical features.

W. O. Carver.

A New Heaven and a New Earth, or The Way to Life Eternal (Thought Studies of the Fourth Dimension). By Charles Brodie Patterson. Author of "The Will to be Well", "Dominion and Power", "What the New Thought Stands For", "The Measure of a Man", etc. New York. 1909. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. Pages 286. Price $1.25 net.

This work is described in its threefold title. It may be further described as an effort to point the way to eternal life conceived of as perfect adjustment to the Universal Life of the world. This way of life is of man's own making. There is no sin but in the thinking which may be corrected by proper thought adjustment which is to be initiated on the physical plane and which will lift man to the spiritual plane.

The initial chapter on "Definition of Terms" is the most obscure of all the book, the rest being fairly comprehensible. The author recognizes quite fully the difficulty of explaining his experiences to those who have not had them. He constantly talks of "the fourth dimension", which is no "dimension" at all. There is much of practical good in this work of one of the greatest exponents of "new thought", provided one knows how to use it and not to be misled by its impossible promises and absurd explanations of experiences and phenomena which are common to many who have no dreams of new thought.

The author does not hesitate to misquote the Bible and to misinterpret and misapply it. When a given passage may be used to express his idea by altering one or two words this is done and the quotation marks used. Although the alteration utterly perverts the original meaning of the passage.

Yet the work is full of suggestions for rational living and might be very useful in leading to methods of thought and action that would contribute to spiritual growth. Only one must always distinguish facts and practical suggestions from the explanation of the author and his interpretation of the principles of spiritual life.

W. O. Carver.

Faith and Health. By Charles Reynolds Brown. Author of "The Young Man's Affairs", "The Social Message of the Modern Pulpit", "The Main Points", and "The Strange Ways of God". New York. 1910. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co.

Here is the book that was lacking in the growing library of books with all sorts of theories on how to get free from the ills flesh is heir to.

This work sums up the teachings of modern faith-cures and points the way to a true appreciation of the nature and spiritual value of disease and the way to healthful use of religious faith in physical ills.

W. O. Carver.

What Life Means to Me. By Wilfred T. Grenfell, M. D. The Pilgrim Press, Chicago. 1910. Pages 32. Price 50 cents net. Postpaid 55 cents.

A real soul-tonic—one of the cheeriest, brightest, bravest little books—is this brief interpretation of life by "the apostle of Labrador", the immortal Doctor Grenfell. "That is what life means to me"—he says, summing up the significance of a thrilling life-story involving himself and others—"a place where a Father deals differently with His different children, but with all in love; a place where true joys do not hang on material pegs, and where all the time the fact that God our Father is on His throne lines every cloud with gold". The

dainty volume is gotten out in the best style of the printer's art; bound in boards of white imitation vellum, with end leaves gold tinted, with a picturesque portrait of the sailor author and doctor as a frontice-piece, and a harmonious scheme of decoration throughout; making a capital graduation or birthday gift for a boy or young man.

GEO. B. EAGER.

Product and Climax. By Simon Nelson Patten. B. W. Huebsch. New York. 1909. Pages 68.

The title is not happily chosen, unless it were chosen with the purpose of exciting curiosity. The essay however is charmingly written, suggestive and delightfully provoking in its presentation of partial truths. The main thought is the great social value of pleasure as being the climax of experience, in which life attains its satisfaction and receives its renewal after the depression and demoralization of overwork. Pleasure is a great moralizing and socializing agency; but, of course, that is true only of the forms of pleasure that afford healthful stimulation and are quickening and vitalizing. The more this sort of pleasure is brought within the reach of all the people, the less we shall have to emphasize the negative, prohibitory side of morality. These sentences give the key to the argument: "Moral agencies are incomplete so long as they are merely shelters against dangers made by disease, misery, crime. They serve but negatively as devices for protection like prisons, churches and philanthropies, or as preparations to meet dangers as do the schools. They will not be complete until they become concrete expressions of happiness, security and pleasure in life." The author's view is one-sided; but the side he contemplates is a very important side. More serious attention should be given to pleasure as a means of building up life.

C. S. GARDNER.

The Social Gospel. By Shailer Mathews, Dean of the Divinity School, University of Chicago. Philadelphia. The Griffith & Rowland Press. 1910. Pages 168.

This is a well-written manual intended for classes of young

people, and particularly suitable for use by adult classes in the Sunday school. Dean Mathews has written other volumes for more advanced readers on the same general theme. In this he gives us a clear, straight-forward statement of the fundamental principles of Christianity. After three chapters on the worth of a man, the message of the Kingdom, and the basic social principles of the Gospel, he discusses The Family, The State, Economic Life, and Social Regeneration. Under the last title he has chapters on the social forces in the Gospel, punishment, remedial legislation, education, the church, missions, the vicarious tenth of society.

He is very conservative in the statement of the social implications of the Gospel, so conservative indeed as to be somewhat colorless and platitudinous at times. However, this is a good book to place in the hands of young people.

C. S. Gardner.

The Lord's Prayer; Meaning and Message for Today. By Charles F. Aked, D.D., Minister of the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church, New York City. Fleming H. Revell Company. New York. 1910.

It is not stated definitely that this is a series of sermons, but the style and forms of address indicate that it is. On the whole the volume is a fresh, interesting and up-to-date devotional discussion of the several petitions of this great model prayer. Dr. Aked in all his preaching seeks especially to give an interpretation of the Gospel which is applicable to this present day's problems and points of view. Perhaps the necessity for this—and it is a real need—is over-emphasized in his mind. There is in his work both the excellencies and the defects of this modern eagerness for a new interpretation and application of the Gospel. Especially is his treatment of the fatherhood of God undiscriminating and superficial. It is clear that while Jesus represented God as maintaining the fatherly attitude of love and yearning solicitude toward all men, he characteristically speaks of the relationship of fatherhood and sonship as spiritual in significance and as existing between God and the obedient soul.

But, notwithstanding, Dr. Aked's exposition of this great, model prayer is spiritual in tone, vigorous in thought and fresh and suggestive in treatment.

C. S. GARDNER.

Modern Sermons by World Scholars. Edited by Robert Scott and William C. Stites, editors of the Homiletic Review. Introduction by Newell Dwight Hillis. In ten volumes. Funk & Wagnalls Company. New York and London. 1909.

There are one hundred and seventeen sermons in these volumes, all by living preachers, representing many different denominations. The editors have sought to secure the contributions from men of generally recognized standing in the scholarly world. It is pleasant to note that in this group of distinguished scholars and preachers are two members of the faculty of our own institution—Drs. Mullins and Robertson. The sermon by Dr. Mullins is on "The Glory of Christ", an able setting forth of the divinity and spiritual power of Jesus; the one by Dr. Robertson is on "The Transforming Power of the Vision of Christ", a great theme discussed in the author's pungent style. Each of them, it will be observed, being an appreciation of the personality and moral power of our Lord.

An examination of the list of those who have sermons in the collection makes it evident that these volumes contain specimens of the best preaching of this generation. They are worthy of a place in every preacher's library and that of every lover of sermons; and withal the volumes are printed and bound in a very attractive style.

C. S. GARDNER.

The City With Foundations. By John Edgar McFadden, M. A. (Glas.) B.A. (Oxon.) Professor of Old Testament Literature and Exegesis in Knox College, Toronto. Author of "Old Testament Criticism and the Christian Church", "Introduction to the Old Testament", "The Prayers of the Bible", etc. A. C. Armstrong & Son. New York. 1909.

The author says in the preface that "the chapters are not elaborate expositions, but simple meditations, resting upon a

close study of the original meaning of some great Bible word or scene, and exhibiting some aspect of its permanent message". The reader finds this to be a true description of the contents of the book. It is a collection of papers which had appeared in various periodicals. The thought is not profound, but the scholarship is good, and the tone is spiritual and helpful. It is a good book for devotional reading.

C. S. Gardner.

The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets. By Jane Addams. Hull House, Chicago. Author of "Democracy and Social Ethics", "Newer Ideals of Peace", etc. The Macmillan Company, New York. 1910. Pages 162.

All persons interested in either the theoretical or the practical aspects of the Social Movement welcome a book from the pen of Jane Addams. There are in this volume her characteristic sympathetic insight into modern city life, her usual breadth and sanity of view and her invariable moral and spiritual passion. The discussions are organized around three ideas —the civic organization of pleasure, so as to obviate its abuses, and make it an uplifting and moralizing influence by guiding this natural impulse into healthful channels; the proper correlation of education with modern industrial life, so that the young may find an intelligent interest in their work, giving to their daily toil a background of related ideas and saving their labor from falling into a mere drudgery unrelieved by any higher interest than the grossly material one of getting bread; the harnessing up of the generous impulses and idealism of youth in the great work of social improvement. The spirit of the book is well expressed in its closing sentences: "We may smother the divine fire of youth or we may feed it. We may either stand stupidly staring as it sinks into a murky fire of crime and flares into the intermittent blaze of folly or we may tend it into a lambent flame with power to make clean and bright our dingy city streets." The book is worthy to be read by all who desire that their own lives may be touched by one of the greatest personalities of our generation and one who has

a large theoretical and practical comprehension of the social problem of our time.

C. S. GARDNER.

The Origins of Leadership. A Dissertation Submitted in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Chicago. By Eben Mumford. The University of Chicago Press. Chicago. 1909.

This is a valuable contribution to the science of institutional development. The social structure is the institutional adaptation to its environment effected by a group. But as conditions are continually changing it is necessary to make new adaptations. The adaptations effected are always adaptations to conditions passing or already past. Hence arise crises in the life of the group, social strain, the necessity for change. The continued efficiency, if not the very existence of the group, often depends upon proper adaptations to changed conditions or in resisting improper adaptations. But in such times ordinary people become confused. There is need for a man of larger intelligence and mightier personality to guide the group in making the new adaptation—a leader. The continual necessity for the function of leadership leads to the development of institutions. The function may take the form of maintaining and that of changing existing customs and institutions." The dissertation consists in the elaboration of these principles. The method is inductive, and the result is a genuine contribution to sociology.

C. S. GARDNER.

Socialism Versus Christianity. By Edward R. Hartman, New York. 1909. Cochrane Publishing Co. Pages 263.

If we confine attention to their superficial but more obvious, aspects it is possible to establish a pretty complete antithesis between Socialism and Christianity. They differ in their doctrines of man's nature, sin, salvation, indeed at almost every point. Furthermore, in the deeper, underlying principles it is possible also to see certain fundamental antagonisms; the reason being that Socialism deals with the present, whereas Christianity

is essentially timeless, and Socialism is a theory of society on its material side, while Christianity is spiritual. But Christianity must, if it at all fills its true nature and fulfills its function, take for the sphere of its spiritual life the present material world.

Socialism poorly understands the sources of the ills of which it complains or the forces through which it may achieve its ends. Christianity has the true explanation of the sources and is itself the product and the exponent of the forces after which Socialism blindly seeks. But Christianity has too long been blind and unconscious alike of her mission and of her mighty means for discharging it. Speaking generally, then, there are two attitudes for Christianity toward Socialism; either to see the differences, antagonisms and oppositions and so to put the two in contrast and conflict, or to seek the meaning of the rise of Socialism, interpret Christianity's principles and task in the light of this great striving of humanity for the highest good and so become the prophet and deliverer of Socialism. Christianity can purify and realize the aims of Socialism, and unless it does this it cannot realize its own destiny.

Hartman's book takes the first attitude and does the work with faithful thoroughness. From that standpoint it is an excellent work. And it is important that Christians shall see wherein Socialism differs from our faith. But we cannot stop there. That is the fault of this work. W. O. Carver.

VII. MISCELLANEOUS.

My Day. Reminiscences of a Long Life. By Mrs. Roger A. Pryor, New York. The Macmillan Co. 1909. Pages 454. Price $2.25 net.

Mrs. Pryor has already produced a delightful volume of *Reminiscences of Peace and War*. But here she touches upon the lighter personal side of her life. There is less of the tragic and more of the sweeter fellowships of life. Mrs. Pryor is gifted with simplicity and charm of style and knows how to pick out of her vast store the things that delight the reader.

The book covers a most interesting period of American history and is sure to have a wide circle of readers. It is illustrated and makes a fine appearance. A. T. ROBERTSON.

The Greek View of Life. By G. Lowes Dickinson, M.A. The Chautauqua Press, Chautauqua, New York. 1909. Pages 236.

This is not a new book, but a new edition of a very valuable old one. It was first published in 1896 and is now running through the seventh edition. It deserves its popularity. It was "intended to serve as a general introduction to Greek literature and thought for those primarily who do not know Greek", and the reviewer knows of no other hand-book of equal size which approaches this in value in fulfilling the purpose of its author. It was intended for the Chautauqua reading circles and is therefore popular and untechnical in treatment. In lucidity of style, in grasp of the subject matter, in comprehensiveness of presentation this book leaves little to be desired. The author treats "The Greek View of Religion", "The Greek View of the State", "The Greek View of the Individual" (including such matters as labor, trade, external goods, physical qualities, athletics, ethics, pleasure, woman, etc.), and finally "The Greek View of Art". On all these questions the treatment is illuminating. Apt quotations from Greek literature are frequent. One can harly imagine a book better adapted to its purpose. W. J. MCGLOTHLIN.

The Teaching of Modern Foreign Languages and the Training of Teachers. By Karl Breul. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. Fourth Edition. Pages 196. Price 80 cents.

The fact that this little work has passed through four editions in ten years shows that it has value. It was especially prepared for teachers of foreign languages in England, but American teachers will find it very suggestive and helpful both as to method and material, books of reference, etc. Among its most valuable features are the bibliographies.

W. J. MCGLOTHLIN.

The Chinese. By John Stuart Thompson. Illutrated from Photographs. Indianapolis. 1909. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. Pages 441. Price $2.50 net.

All books on China and the Chinese are disappointing, usually they are even provoking. This one is no exception. One does not hope for an exception. China is so vast and so varied, the Chinese so frank and so elusive, so simple and so profound, so humble and so proud, so stupid and so wise, so degraded and so cultured, so alike and so different that no man can tell the truth about them, and it would be almost as hard to tell a falsehood concerning them.

Now this work is unlike any other the reviewer has read in a somewhat wide reading in the literature portraying China and its people. On that account it is especially welcome. Its viewpoint is different from any other yet met with. Nowhere does it appear that the author has any purpose to serve other than telling a vivid and engaging story of what he has seen and heard about in China. One must say "heard about", for while the eye-witnesses, with the personal experience through other senses and sensations, usually speaks to us in these pages, it is too much to expect that one man shall have seen all that he must mention in such a work.

The chapter on "Religion and Superstition" is perhaps least satisfactory of all, not that one has any fault to find with what is said, either in its spirit or in its matter, although exception must be taken to such a statement as "Ancestor worship was, of course, founded by Confucius", for it is a matter "of course" to every student of Chinese religion that ancestor worship was not founded by Confucius. But while the statements here are usually the result of accurate observation or of correct reading, there is little order in the material and it gives an exceedingly meager view of Chinese religion and superstition. This same lack of order and of completeness is in some considerable measure felt in all parts of the work; but that semi-confusion is so truly characteristic of Chinese life and history that its presence in a book is not so much to be deplored. In the chapter on Religion, however, our author seems to be less

at home than at other parts of his work. This may lead us to say that the viewpoint of the author is that of a man of the world with a sense of the humorous, a slightly cynical veil over a deeply earnest and conscientious and truly spympathetic spirit. The halting information now and then, as in the matter of Chinese religion, is the more remarked that usually the author betrays a truly encyclopaedic knowledge of humanity in all parts of the world. One moves in an atmosphere of rich knowledge gathered from extensive travel, wide reading, close observation and splendid training. In his sentences it is surprising and delightful to see the words, on their way to express the main idea of the sentence, disclosing a wealth of all sorts of collateral and incidental information, while at the same time never losing you in a confusion of generalities or incidentals. Language could hardly be more richly employed than in some parts of this volume.

The author's worst fault is that which besets every writer about India or China—generalizing what is particular. Take for example his title for the very first chapter: "Daily Life of Foreigners in China" holds us almost exclusively through two-thirds of its seventy-four pages in Hong Kong, where the foreigner is not truly in China at all. For the rest of the chapter we do not get beyond Canton and its close environs, and a short excursion up the West River. Only incidental reference, by way of comparison, is found to other parts of China in this chapter with its general heading. Elsewhere we do see other cities and sections. But when all is said it remains that no one has given us a livelier, more fascinating or more instructive work, especially if we chance to know somewhat of China already.

W. O. Carver.

Menandrea. Ex Papyris et Membranis Vetutissimis. Editit Alfredus Koerte. Editis Major. MCMX. B. G. Teubner, Leipzig, Germany. S. 259. Pr. 3M.

The Menandrea papyrus from Aphroditopolis is here used with all other known Menander manuscripts (Oxyrhynchus and Petersburg). There is a Preface and an Index Verborum.

Variations in the text are noted also in the notes. Thus an excellent apparatus is presented for the understanding of the extracts from this author. The text is printed in both the uncial and the cursive style. It is neatly and accurately done, as is to be expected with the Teubner imprint.

A. T. Robertson.

The Autobiography of Sir Henry Morton Stanley. Edited by His Wife, Dorothy Stanley. With Sixteen Photogravures and a Map. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., New York. 1909. Pages 556. Price $5.00 net.

Lady Stanley has done her work with great skill and delicacy. The first part of the book was well written out by Sir Henry himself and he left notes for the rest. The book is massive and impressive, as is the figure of Stanley, a figure that will grow greater with the years. Since the days of Columbus no one event has meant more to the expansion of the world than the opening up of Central Africa, the real Africa. The names of Livingstone and Stanley are forever linked with that of Africa. Stanley came to feel that he was the agent of God in this matter. Was he not right? His early life was fruitful in its severity. His father died when Stanley was only a few weeks old and he was not reared by his mother. He received only rebuffs at every turn. But the hardness made him able to endure Africa. He was a citizen of England, of America, of Africa, the three lands that concerned him most. One of the bitterest cups that Stanley had to drink was the suspicion with which he was received on his return from Africa. He never recovered fully from the injustice of that. The book is a thrilling, inspiring one. The undercurrent of sadness is lost at last in the mighty current of the world movements in Africa, the torrent of the Congo. Stanley felt impelled to tell his story for the benefit of hapless lads like himself who might be spurred to high endeavor by the recital of his struggles. It is one of the greatest stories of earth. A. T. Robertson.

With Christ in Palestine. By A. T. Schofield, M.D. Pages 96. R. F. Fenno & Co., New York. Price $1.25.

The Divine in Man. By A. T. Schofield, M.D. Armstrong & Son New York. 1909. Pages 94. Price 50 cents.

Fit For Work; or Health in Christian Service. By A. T. Schofield, M.D. Armstrong & Son, New York. 1909. Pages 204. Price $1.50.

The author of these works is the vice-president of the British College of Physical Education, examiner of the National Health Society of England, etc., already known as a writer on "Christian Sanity", etc. All his books breathe a sincere and devout spirit, and the works on "Christian Sanity" and "Health in Christian Service" come stamped with the authority of special knowledge and valuable experience. The volume entitled *With Christ in Palestine,* suggested by a visit to the Holy Land, attempts no ambitious critical tasks, but aims simply at realizing the most significant scenes in the life of Christ and pointing out and impressing the lessons connected with them. *The Divine in Man* deals helpfully with Christ, as the Christian's Foundation; God, as the Christian's Resource; Joy, as the Christian's Life; and Love, as the Christian's Power. *Fit for Work* is written by "a student and teacher of personal and domestic hygiene" as "a practical hand-book" for those engaged in Christian service, to help them to find "the safe path that avoids all extremes and excesses, and leads to the greatest output in effective work". GEO. B. EAGER.

Human Equipment. Its Use and Abuse. By Edward Howard Griggs. B. W. Huebsch, New York. 16mo. Pages 73. Price 50 cents net.

A treatise quite characteristic of the sensible author on the right use of things. We would all be helped by measuring what we have according to the standard laid down by the writer, who speaks with authority on a live question of every-day life.

Do It To a Finish. By Orison Swett Marden, Assisted by Margaret Connolly, New York. 1909. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. Pages 54. Price 30 cents net.

The versatile editor of *Success* is well known and highly ap-

preciated as an essayist and moralist. This little volume is full of wisdom expressed with forceful rhetoric and apt illustration by which it urges the necessity for careful, thorough and complete doing of tasks. Only thus can we succeed, only thus attain and maintain self-respect, only thus have wholesome influence, only thus be honest and achieve worthy character. Every youth and everyone not too old to want to be true and useful would do well to read this little essay. It is a spur, an inspiration, a sermon of power. W. O. CARVER.

The Greatness and Decline of Rome. By Gulielmo Ferrero. Authorized Translation. Five Volumes. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 1909. Price $2.50 a volume; $12.50 the set. Students' edition $1.75 a volume; $8.00 a set.

It is almost impossible to give an adequate idea of this magnificent achievement in one review. It is the fruitage of a scholar's life work. It has been a long time since so important a work on Rome appeared. Much has been done by Mommsen and others to make possible a new history of Rome. But it has remained for a brilliant writer to grasp the whole and make it live for modern men. This Italian scholar has made original researches of his own and has formed independent judgments where they departed from traditional ideas. Much of the value of his work consists in the fresh point of view which he gives to familiar figures. In a sense his work is revolutionary. All of his positions may not stand. But no one can dispute the significance and worth of this really great contribution to the study of Rome. Vol. I is entitled "The Empire Builders" and comes to 59 B. C. Vol. II is devoted to Julius Caesar and is possibly the ablest of the series. Vol. III is called "The Fall of An Aristocracy" and ends with 37 B. C. Here the author shows perhaps his greatest insight into Roman life and its contending forces. Vol. IV is "Rome and Egypt" and is the most sensational volume of all in the new conception of Antony and Cleopatra. Vol. V is "The Republic of Augustus" and closes with A. D. 14. These volumes touch the very heart of Roman civilization and are full of value for the student of the New Testa-

ment. The writer's style is dignified and noble. He has imagination and movement and also dramatic power. It is doubtful if a more readable and suggestive study of Rome has come from the press since Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* Indeed, the two works supplement each other.

A. T. Robertson.

At School in the Cannibal Islands. By Edwin J. Houston, Ph.D., Philadelphia. 1909. The Griffith & Rowland Press. Pages 412. Price $1.25.

This volume is the fourth in which the author follows the fortunes of two boys and their companions in the South Seas and their islands. They are good books for boys as well as for other people. But one cannot but feel that the story told in half the space would have been far better. From the artistic standpoint the author has achieved no great success, but he has made attractive to boy readers much information that is useful. The present volume aims to impart instruction in natural history, of both fauna and flora in the Pacific islands. The book is well worth while for its information. W. O. Carver.

Ward Hill—the Teacher. By Everett T. Tomlinson, Philadelphia, 1909. The Griffith & Rowland Press. Pages 303. Price $1.25.

This is the fourth of the "Ward Hill Series", dealing with the problems and life of a boy in school. The work is thrilling and its moral tone is very fine. The conflict wages around the question of clean athletics. Hill, the hero, is manly and courageous, nothing of the prig or slob. Dr. Gray, the principal of the school, is made the foil of Hill and is an impossible character in the position he holds. It would not be hard to find such a man, but it would be impossible for him to hold for many years the confiedence of a lot of school boys. The effect of the book on boys will be fine, and they will read it.

W. O. Carver.

Quiet Talks on Home Ideals. By S. D. Gordon and Mary Kilgore Gordon, New York. 1909. Fleming H. Revell Company. Pages 268. Price 75 cents net.

Mr. Gordon has made too many "quiet talks"—this is the seventh volume—and to too many people—toward half a million of his books have been bought—for it to be needful to introduce him. "These are the quietest talks of all," he tells us in the preface, entering the holy of holies of life, and are to be read only "by those whose hearts are sympathetic, and only at such times as the heart mood is dominant". It is delicately fitting, perhaps absolutely needful, that in this treatise the other realizer of "home ideals" should be associated with Mr. Gordon. Only one knit of twain could know the words to say on these themes, and here the two speak as one of the unit of life love's best earth achievement, the home realizing love's ideals. Here are the topics, without their explanatory sub-topics: "Ideals", "The Finest Friendship", "Home", "The Finest Friendship's Finest Fruit," "Father-Mother", "The Babe", "Heredity", "Training". The discussion moves in an atmosphere of the deepest reverence and the highest aspiration. Word picture, story, metaphor, allegory, logic and poetry all play a part in the sacred task of urging the reader to undertake the duty of achieving practical idealism in the holy bonds of home life.

It is to be regretted that the author's sentences are sometimes carelessly constructed and occasionally violate simple syntax, as also that the proof-reader is guilty of many oversights.

W. O. Carver.

Wie wurden die Juden das Volk des Gesetzes? Von Lic. Dr. I. Benzinger. J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen. 1908. S. 48.

The critical scholars of Germany are issuing little popular monographs designed to commend the results of recent scholarship to the plain reader. The present little treatise belongs to the series entitled "Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher".

Dr. Benzinger of Jerusalem writes in a popular and pleasing style. He first compares the laws in the Pentateuch with the

Code of Hammurabi, and aligns himself with the scholars who attribute most of the Hebrew culture to the influence of Babylonia on the civilization of Western Asia. He then follows the usual radical treatment of Deuteronomy, Ezekiel and and the priestly laws. JOHN R. SAMPEY.

Discoveries in Hebrew, Gaelic, Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, Latin, Basque and Other Caucasic Languages. By Allison Emery Drake, Sc. M. M.D., Ph.D. The Herrick Book & Stationery Company, Denver. 1907. Three-quarters Morocco; red edges; 9x6 inches. Pages vi+402. Price $6.30 net.

Dr. Drake has expended time and money in the production of a learned work wirtten to show that the Semitic and the Aryan languages are akin. In the Semitic group he uses Hebrew chiefly, though he shows acquaintance with Arabic and the other Semitic languages. For comparison with the Hebrew he adduces most frequently Gaelic, Basque, Gothic, Anglo-Saxon and Sanskirt, with none of which the reveiwer has sufficient acquaintance to test the author's accuracy in the comparison. The reviewer is more at home in the Semitic languages, and in Greek, Latin, German, French, Italian and English. The general impression made by a careful examination of the book is that the author has made the comparison of the Semitic and the Aryan tongues less of a philosophical heresy than it was before he entered the arena. An original and independent mind is often needed to lift scholars out of the ruts and Dr. Drake is certainly original and courageous. He does not hesitate to bring forward new theories of kinship in the case of words in the Greek and Latin field, which has been thoroughly worked over by some of the greatest of modern philologists. Dr. Drake is fair enough, however, to let the uninitiated student know when he is preaching philological heresy. The timid can then retreat to cover, if they so desire.

It would not greatly surprise the reviewer to see a revival of interest in the study of comparative philology with a wider inclusion of languages than has been common in recent years. If a man could but live to a patriarchial age, he might hope to

know enough to trace more fully the relations of the great groups of earth's tongues to one another. Dr. Drake's book is a good beginning, and it is to be hoped that able philologists like Nöldeke will bring their stores of learning and keen critical insight to bear upon the questions raised by Dr. Drake.

JOHN R. SAMPEY.

Are the Dead Alive? The Problem of Psychical Research that the World's Leading Scientists are Trying to Solve, and the Progress they have Made. By Fremont Rider, with Statements of their Personal Belief by Sir Oliver Lodge, Andrew Lang, Count Leo Tolstoi, Sir William Crookes, Dr. Cesare Lombrossi, Dr. Charles Richert, Dr. V. Maxwell, Dr. Filippo Bottazzi, Professor William Barrett, Camille Flammarion, William T. Stead, Professor William James and others. New York. 1909. B. W. Dodge & Co. Pages xvi+372. Price $1.75 net.

Such is the imposing title page of this pretentious book. We must not conclude that all these eminent names are placed on this page with the knowledge and consent of their owners. It is entirely legitimate to quote published statements from anyone but it is a questionable use of their names to place them on the title page of a work they have most likely not seen or heard of.

For a generation now some eminent men of science have been giving attention to the so-called "psychic phenomena" by which those who appropriate this term mean the phenomena, actual or feigned, of spiritualism and kindred matters. The most striking outcome of this scientific attention is the conviction that scientists are little more judicious and no more judicial than other cultured people.

This volume professes to sum up judicially the present status of the answer that can be made scientifically to the demand of many minds for demonstration of spiritual existence apart from human bodies. A vast amount of material is brought together and made available for use by any who care to investigate it.

The author seems to aim to discount and discredit this evidence so far as it is unreliable under the most searching tests, but his grim determination to hold on to a residuum sufficient

to give the required "proof" is quite evident. It is impossible to resist the conviction that he is either subject to the delusions of his own desires or that he is practicing a shrewd legerdemain of logic on his readers. He continues, for example, to use witnesses after showing that they have been convicted not only of incompetency in some cases, but of actual fraud in other cases.

If this is the best showing that can be made we are yet a long way from being able to claim demonstration for the contentions of the psychics and their dependents that they are in communication with the spirit world on the basis of material manifestations. W. O. CARVER.

The Science of Living. By William S. Sadler M.D. A. C. McClurg & Co. New York, Chicago, San Francisco. 1910. Price $1.50. net.

The sub-title of this book is suggestive of its main purpose—and this may well commend it to the preacher—"The Art of Keeping Well". The author, a physician and lecturer on hygiene, has in mind primarily the man who is well and wants to keep so. He is foot-loose, committed to no "school", and steers free of fads, but he gives what seem to this reviewer to be sound physiological and phychological reasons for the rules of health he lays down. Especially valuable is the section dealing with foods, giving their full value, describing prevalent adulterations and telling how to detect them. The pages are copiously illustrative, with apt and luminous drawings.

GEO. B. EAGER.

The Spirit of America. By Henry Van Dyke, Professor of English at Princeton University, Hyde Lecturer, University of Paris, 1908, 1909. Hon. LL.D., University of Geneva, Hon. F. R. S. L., London. New York. 1910. The Macmillan Company. Pages xv+276. Price $1.50 net.

America has had no greater literary master than Henry Van Dyke. This means that he has the insight of a prophet, the sympathy of a priest, profound moral conviction and high artistic skill. These were brought into play in interpreting for

the French people "the spirit of America". The subjects of his lectures are "The Soul of a People", "Self-Reliance and the Republic", "Fair Play and Democracy", "Will-Power, Work and Wealth", "Common Order and Social Co-operation", "Personal Development and Education", "Self-Expression and Literature". What suggestive comprehensiveness is there! One wishes that religion had been accorded some distinct recognition in the lectures. But there is your menu provided by our best literary caterer. All will wish to share the feast.

W. O. Carver.

The Book of Easter. With an Introduction by the Right Reverend W. C. Doane and Imaginative Drawings by George Wharton Edwards. New York. 1910. The Macmillan Company. Pages xvii+246. Price $1.25.

This is a very valuable, because very complete and well edited, collection of historical sketches, descriptions, legends, poems and pictures showing the origin and observances of Easter in various countries and ages. The related practices of the whole Passion Week are set forth. Some of the most interesting stories are of the Passion Play of Oberammergau, Easter in Jerusalem, 1835; Egg-rolling in Washington, The Processions of Passion Week in Seville.

There are twelve pictures from paintings by Rembrandt, Rubens, Fra Angelico, Paul Veronese, and other of the great artists.

The poems are well selected and include the most famous Latin poems, in translation, as well as many less known but full of sunshine, gladness and beauty. This is a sort of companion volume to The Christmas Book and is a beautiful volume for a gift book.

Alice S. Carver.

American Baptist Year Book. J. G. Walker, D.D., Editor. Philadelphia. American Baptist Publication Society. Pages 252. Price 50 cents net. Postage 6 cents.

The Year Book is fuller than usual, comprehensive, exten-

sively illustrated. Apparently, also, the editor is gaining efficiency and accuracy with growing experience in a task extremely difficult and exacting.

W. O. CARVER.

The Anti-Saloon League Year Book. Compiled by Ernest Hurst Cherrington, Managing Editor of the American Anti-Saloon Press Bureau, Columbus, O.; Chicago, Ill. The Anti-Saloon League of America. 1910. Pages 256. Price, Manila Bound, 35 cents; Cloth Bound, 60 cents.

The title page informs us that this is "An Encyclopedia of Facts and Figures Dealing with the Liquor Traffic and the Temperance Reform", and that it "has been adopted by the National Headquarters Committee of the Anti-Saloon League of America, and is the Official Anti-Saloon League Year Book". There are maps, charts, tables and explanations that give a very comprehensive and resourceful supply of information for temperance works of all classes. The Anti-Saloon League is the one effective and dreaded agency for fighting the saloon and its Year Book is of the highest value for the friends of a sober government.

W. O. CARVER.

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EXCERPTS FROM THE BOOK

"It isn't the fashion to print it so, but the best and enduring firms are God and Jones, grocers; God and Brown, bankers; The God-Jones Mfg. Co., pure drugs and spices." Page 82.

"Did you ever go in swimming, and in getting into your clothes get your feet all dirty? Well, you don't have to undress and jump in again just to wash the sand off your feet. This is just what Jesus means." Page 94.

"The first Christian that Jesus welcomed into heaven was hardly a day old and was a thief. Not one of the nice folks upon Zion Terrace, so particular about their Sabbath, but one of the low-down crooks from Jehoshaphat Alley. Such is real Christianity from that day to this." Page 116.

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